

FINE ARTS DATE

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THE ART BULLETIN

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FINE ARTS DEPT.

THE ART BULLETIN

MARCH 1957

| | | |
|--|-----------------------|----|
| Announcement of The Arthur Kingsley Porter Prize | | iv |
| A Famous Antique: A Roman Sarcophagus at The Los Angeles Museum | ELAINE P. LOEFFLER | I |
| "Et Prima Vidit": The Iconography of the Appearance of Christ to His Mother | JAMES D. BRECKENRIDGE | 9 |
| The Chronology of Chartres Cathedral | PAUL FRANKL | 33 |
| An Early Altarpiece by Lorenzo Monaco | MARVIN J. EISENBERG | 49 |
| The Brussels Version of the Mérode <i>Annunciation</i> | CARLA GOTTLIEB | 53 |
| NOTE | | |
| Three Problems from the Villard de Honnecourt Manuscript | ROBERT BRANNER | 61 |
| BOOK REVIEWS | | |
| Margarete Bieber, <i>The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age</i> | RHYS CARPENTER | 67 |
| Friedrich Gorissen, "Jan Maelwael und die Brüder Limburg . . ." | MARGARET RICKERT | 73 |
| Milton W. Brown, <i>American Painting from the Armory Show to the Depression</i> | JOHN I. H. BAUR | 77 |
| Will Grohmann, <i>Paul Klee</i> ; Werner Haftmann, <i>The Mind and Work of Paul Klee</i> | S. LANE FAISON, JR. | 80 |
| LETTERS TO THE EDITOR | | 81 |
| LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED | | 83 |
| NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS | | 85 |

THE ART BULLETIN is pleased to announce the establishment of

The Arthur Kingsley Porter Prize

for the encouragement of young scholars in art historical studies. The sum of four hundred dollars will be awarded annually, or at the discretion of the Officers of the College Art Association, for an Article or Note published in THE ART BULLETIN during the year preceding the announcement of the award and judged by a committee of three to be of sound scholarship, original in content, and distinguished in presentation. Contributors of any nationality who are under 40 years of age at the time of the submission of the manuscript to the Editor are eligible.

Announcement of the first award is expected in January 1958.

A FAMOUS ANTIQUE: A ROMAN SARCOPHAGUS AT THE LOS ANGELES MUSEUM*

ELAINE P. LOEFFLER

RENAISSANCE and post-Renaissance drawings and engravings after the antique provide valuable evidence of the interests and tastes of specific periods and of individual artists in ancient monuments, as well as extensive documentation for the objects themselves, their "modern" history, and often their subsequent mutilation or restoration. However, these monuments seldom are represented with sufficient frequency to afford a clear and continuous image of their post-antique existence, their popularity and influence and, in some cases, their disappearance. This study is concerned with one of the rare exceptions.

In the last decade, the County Museum of Los Angeles acquired a Roman sarcophagus¹ of the so-called "Marriage" or "Private Life" type (Figs. 1-6).² A work of the later second century A.D., the sarcophagus has the usual form with one long and two shorter relief sides.³ Its lid is not preserved. The major side (Fig. 1) is decorated with four separate scenes, the first consisting of two armed horsemen riding over two nude, fallen warriors. The next scene is that of a barbarian couple with their child who plead for clemency before a Roman officer, dressed in a cuirass and cloak, a figure certainly intended to represent the deceased. Behind the officer stands *Virtus* or *Roma* and in the background are a soldier and a Victory with a wreath and a palm in her hands. The center of the relief is occupied by the sacrifice of a steer⁴ before a tetrastyle temple, with the *popa*, *victimarius*, a youthful flute player, and with the deceased pouring a libation over a lighted altar. To the right, there is a *camillus* carrying a small chest and behind him another male figure. The final group on the main relief represents the marriage scene, the *dextrarum iunctio*, in the presence of Juno *pronuba*.⁵ The left short side (Fig. 2), in lower relief, shows the deceased seated as a servant assists him with his greaves, while two soldiers stand in attendance in the background. The right side (Fig. 3) is occupied by the scene of the bathing of a newborn child before his mother and the Fates.⁶ The entire surface of the sarcophagus is badly corroded and there are obvious evidences of reworking in the major relief.⁷

Nothing about this rather modest sarcophagus would suggest that it was one of the most famous of Roman works in the Renaissance and later periods. Yet this seems to be the case.⁸

* The basic conclusions of this paper were presented at the ninth annual Symposium on the History of Art, held at the Frick Collection in April 1955. I am grateful to Dr. Karl Lehmann, Dr. Phyllis W. Lehmann, Dr. Richard Krautheimer, Mr. Norman Neuerburg, and Dr. Cornelius Vermeule for much assistance and many suggestions presented in this discussion.

1. Ebrina Feinblatt, "Un sarcofago romano inedito nel Museo di Los Angeles," *Bollettino d'arte*, Series IV, XXXVII, 1952, pp. 193ff.; *idem*, "A Roman Biographical Sarcophagus," *Bulletin of the Art Division, Los Angeles County Museum*, IV, Summer 1952, pp. 22ff.

2. For sarcophagi of this type, see August Rossbach, *Römische Hochzeits- und Ehedenkmäler*, Leipzig, 1871, especially pp. 118ff.; P. Barrera, "Sarcophagi romani con scene della vita privata e militare," *Studi romani*, II, 1914, pp. 93-120 and pls. V-VIII; Gerhart Rodenwaldt, "Über den Stilwandel in der antoninischen Kunst," *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Philosophisch-historische Klasse), 1935, no. 3, pp. 1-27; Inez Scott Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XXII), Rome, 1955, pp. 163ff. For the Los Angeles sarcophagus, see p. 165. Mrs. Ryberg

very kindly allowed me to see this volume in proof.

3. No detailed discussion of either the dating or the specific iconography of this sarcophagus will be attempted here. For the most recent discussion, see above, note 1.

4. Ryberg, *loc.cit.*

5. According to Miss Feinblatt, "Un sarcofago romano inedito nel Museo di Los Angeles," p. 194, traces of the figure of Hymenaeus are preserved in the marriage group.

6. For this scene, see Otto Brendel, "Symbolik der Kugel," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, LI, 1936, especially pp. 76ff.; and Henri Irénée Marrou, *MOYCIKOC ANHP, Étude sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurant sur les monuments funéraires romains*, Grenoble, 1937, pp. 27ff.

7. Miss Feinblatt, "A Roman Biographical Sarcophagus," p. 22, comments that "all but six of the figures" have had their heads refitted.

8. Although all of the sarcophagi of this type are very closely related in iconography, there is always sufficient difference in detail to allow for specific identification. The major point of variance lies in the scenes represented on the short sides. The drawings and engravings here related to the Los

Its existence is definitely recorded for the first time in the Wolfegg sketchbook, an early sixteenth century collection of drawings after the antique (Figs. 7-11).⁹ Every detail of the reliefs is drawn, although the two horsemen and fallen warriors have been removed from their context and placed with a battle frieze now in the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua, a grouping of related motifs that the artist must have considered more logical—or, at least, more useful.¹⁰ The sketches bear the legends “in santo piero doue lapina laindrite dentre una porta” (fols. 25v, 26r) and “in santo piero in derite lapina coe in una porta” (fols. 27v, 28r). Thus, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the sarcophagus was to be found in Rome in the area of the atrium of Old St. Peter’s, certainly a most conspicuous location.¹¹

Beyond a few minor artistic flourishes and alterations in composition, there are certain major differences between the Cinquecento representation of the sarcophagus and its present state. In the drawings, the deceased is shown as bearded in all three cases on the main relief, whereas he now is clearly clean shaven in two instances. The heads of the barbarian couple and of *Virtus* are quite unlike those now on the sarcophagus. It is possible, of course, that these divergences may be attributed to the artist’s inaccuracy or to his free invention but they also may be considered as indications of later damage and restoration.

Given the presence of the piece in one of the most prominent locations in Rome in the early Cinquecento, reflections of it in at least some Renaissance works might be expected, and it is not surprising that there are a number of such reflections.¹² Mantegna and his followers appear both to have known the monument and to have used it as a source for motifs a number of times. The clearest dependence on the Roman relief is found in the London *Triumph of Scipio* of 1504-1506 (Fig. 12),¹³ where the kneeling woman and standing man in the center are derived from the barbarian woman and the deceased sacrificing on the Los Angeles sarcophagus. The *Mucius Scaevola* in Munich (Fig. 13)¹⁴ includes the figures of two soldiers clearly based upon those on the left side of the sarcophagus (Fig. 2). The positions of the hands of the soldier on the right are identical in both compositions and, despite the illusion of greater depth, the differences in

Angeles sarcophagus do show, however, obvious differences in detail from the reliefs themselves. There can be no question that this is the sarcophagus represented, despite these changes, for reasons which will be explained in the course of the discussion.

9. Fols. 25v, 26r, 27v, 28r and 33r. Carl Robert, “Skizzenbuch auf Schloss Wolfegg,” *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, XVI, 1901, pp. 209ff. For these drawings, see pp. 226, 227-228 and 230. Dr. Phyllis Bober of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, is preparing an edition of a second group of drawings related to the Wolfegg sketchbook and dates the latter before 1503, attributing it to Amico Aspertini. (See also Corrado Ricci, “Gli Aspertini,” *L’Arte*, XVIII, 1915, fasc. 2-3, pp. 81-119.) Jacob Hess, “On Raphael and Giulio Romano,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th series, XXXII, 1947, p. 91 n. 3, summarizes the bibliography on the sketchbook. I am grateful to Mrs. Bober for her kind assistance with this material. For fols. 27v and 28r, see Jan W. Crous, “Ein antiker Fries bei Sebastiano del Piombo,” *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, LV, 1940, pp. 70-71, figs. 4 and 5.

10. The scene on the lower part of fol. 33r, showing horsemen and nude warriors, has been connected with a battle relief in Mantua, found on the preceding fol. 32v, either as an invention or a lost fragment of the Mantua relief. Cf. Alda Levi, *Sculture greche e romane del Palazzo Ducale di Mantova*, Rome, 1931, no. 167, pp. 75-78 and pl. LXXXVIII; and Hermann Egger, *Codex Escorialensis, Ein Skizzenbuch aus der Werkstatt Domenico Ghirlandaios (Sonderschriften des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien, IV)*, Vienna, 1906, I, pp. 146-151 and fig. 66. The group of the

two horsemen and two fallen warriors in the sketchbook corresponds so closely to that on the Los Angeles sarcophagus that it could scarcely be taken from any other monument, especially given the fact that this group was omitted in the other drawings of the piece. The legend, as read by Robert, *op.cit.*, p. 230, “in chasa de misero Joano canpolino” undoubtedly refers only to the Mantua relief.

11. “La pina” refers to the colossal bronze pinecone, now in the Vatican Museums, that formerly occupied the center of the atrium of Old St. Peter’s. Professor Richard Krautheimer has suggested that the sarcophagi which are known to have been in the atrium of St. Peter’s in the early Cinquecento had probably been brought there much earlier. This suggestion is supported by his discovery that Ghiberti knew and used details from the Los Angeles sarcophagus, as he demonstrates in his *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, Princeton, 1956, especially pp. 346f. and 350.

12. Since sarcophagi of this type are so closely related, both to each other and to contemporary monumental sculpture, I have attempted to limit the selection of reflections only to those cases where more than one detail from the Los Angeles sarcophagus appears or where it is clear from repeated use by the same artists or circle that this piece was the specific source.

13. Martin Davies, *The Earlier Italian Schools* (National Gallery Catalogues), London, 1951, no. 902, pp. 256-259; E. Tietze-Conrat, *Mantegna*, London, 1955, pp. 185-186; Paul Kristeller, *Andrea Mantegna*, London, 1901, pp. 361ff.

14. Tietze-Conrat, *op.cit.*, p. 190. This is probably a school work as Mrs. Tietze indicates. See also Kristeller, *op.cit.*, p. 371.

costume, and the placing of the second spear, given to the soldier rather than to the officer, the resemblance is striking.¹⁵ The panel in the Kress Collection of ca. 1510, with a further scene from the Scipio series,¹⁶ likewise draws upon the Roman relief for several details. The two warriors on the left of the throne are a variation on those of the *Mucius Scaevola*; the man in armor with the long sword is a reversal of the officer in the clemency scene and the figure with the water jug is certainly based upon the deceased sacrificing, as the curious V-shaped neck of his garment, as well as his general stance, indicates.¹⁷

The circle of Raphael, too, appears to have made use of this sarcophagus. Given the possibility of later restorations of certain details on the reliefs, as well as obvious mutilations, these reflections become far clearer when compared with the Aspertini drawings, rather than with the sarcophagus itself. The most definite reflection is found in Giulio Romano's ceiling for the Room of Psyche in the Palazzo del Te, in the figures of Psyche and her father (Fig. 16).¹⁸ Quite clearly, they were taken from the barbarian couple in the clemency scene, both in gesture and general costume (Figs. 1 and 9). Details from the sarcophagus were introduced into the school frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura, possibly representing the works of Homer placed in the tomb of Achilles and Augustus saving the Aeneid (Figs. 14 and 15).¹⁹ In the former, the sources for the central group are the male barbarian, even to the details of his antique costume, and the deceased in the sacrificial scene, in the ponderation of the figure and the gestures; in the latter, the two main figures are based upon the deceased in the clemency scene and the *papa*, while the figure rushing in from the right may have been suggested by the *victimarius*. Both frescoes, then, appear to be strongly dependent on the Los Angeles sarcophagus and this dependence is further reinforced by this very combination of several details in the Renaissance work from the same antique monument.

The group of Tobias and the Angel to the left of the Virgin's throne in the *Madonna of the Fish* in the Prado (Fig. 17)²⁰ is apparently simply a reversal of the figures of the barbarian woman and her child on the sarcophagus, with added details such as the angel's wings and the child's fish used to explain the subject (Cf. Fig. 9).²¹

It seems obvious, then, that the sarcophagus was an important source of motifs for the ateliers of at least two major artists in the late Quattrocento and early Cinquecento. And, as might be expected, Aspertini himself made use of his own drawings, for the reliefs provided details for a cassone panel in Madrid,²² where the deceased, *Virtus*, the female barbarian and her child are placed in the foreground and the marriage scene appears in the background.²³

15. The figure of Mucius Scaevola himself may well be a combination of the figures of the deceased in the clemency scene and the sacrifice scene, but it is difficult to be certain of this point.

16. Tietze-Conrat, *op.cit.*, p. 186 and bibliography.

17. Further possibilities in Mantegna's oeuvre may be seen in the relief on the arch in the background of the Eremitani fresco of *St. James before Herod Agrippa*, where the altar decorated with garlands and the position of the flute player (?) are close to those on the Los Angeles sarcophagus. Tietze-Conrat, *op.cit.*, p. 193, no. 7, and pl. 11; Vittorio Moschini, *Gli affreschi del Mantegna agli Eremitani di Padova*, Bergamo, 1944, pl. 15. The curious armor of the soldier on the left and especially his pointed cuirass may be based on the dress of the officer in the clemency scene. Tietze-Conrat, *loc.cit.* and Moschini, *op.cit.*, pl. 14.

18. Psyche and her father before the oracle of Apollo. Frederick Hartt, "Gonzaga Symbols in the Palazzo del Te," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XIII, pp. 151ff. and especially pp. 163 and 165, pl. 40b.

19. Adolf Rosenberg, *Raffaël (Klassiker der Kunst, 1)*, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1909, pl. 72. The interpretation of these frescoes is not certain. See also W. E. Suida, *Raphael*, 2nd ed., London, 1948, p. 25 and figs. 87-88.

20. School? See Oskar Fischel, *Raphael*, London, 1948, I,

pp. 139-141 and II, pl. 149; Rosenberg, *op.cit.*, pl. 100; Heinrich Wölfflin, *Classic Art*, New York, 1952, p. 131 and p. 132, fig. 86. The drawings related to this painting (Fischel, *op.cit.*, II, pls. 150-151) and especially that in the Uffizi, where the models for Tobias and the Angel are in contemporary dress, might lead one to doubt this connection. Yet the pose is so similar that if the drawing does represent the first stage of the composition with the use of models, their poses are so close to those of the sarcophagus that they may well have been suggested by the figures of the Roman relief. See also J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavacaselle, *Raphael, His Life and Works*, London, 1885, II, pp. 224-226 and especially p. 226n.

21. Another reflection may be found in the Vatican Loggia fresco of *The Queen of Sheba* (Rosenberg, *op.cit.*, pl. 190, top) where the Queen is possibly based on the barbarian woman and the servants on the *papa* and *victimarius*.

22. I am grateful to Dr. Phyllis Bober for the information regarding Aspertini's use of the Los Angeles sarcophagus. For the cassone panel in the Prado, see Paul Schubring, *Cassoni*, Leipzig, 1915, I, p. 346, no. 540, and *idem*, "Cassoni Panels in English Private Collections," *Burlington Magazine*, XXII, 1913, pp. 326-327 and pl. v, t.

23. Mrs. Bober also suggests the possibility that the sarcophagus may be reflected in a relief for S. Petronio in Bologna

From these few examples, among the many that no doubt exist, the sarcophagus seems to have been one of the most notable antiques in the Renaissance, unquestionably in part as a result of its location at St. Peter's.

The reliefs next occur in a large, careful drawing of the early seventeenth century included among the sketches after the antique collected or commissioned by Cassiano dal Pozzo (Figs. 18 and 19).²⁴ Again, the entire decorated surface is reproduced, although, unfortunately, no provenance is indicated. In the early seventeenth century, the sarcophagus evidently was still in a fairly good state of preservation, although the figures of the riding warriors were somewhat mutilated. As in the case of the Wolfegg drawings, there are certain obvious differences between the sketch and the present state of the sarcophagus. For, despite the change in style and in personal artistic interpretation, the heads of *Virtus* and of the barbarian couple drawn by the Seicento draftsman agree with those shown in the sixteenth century representation rather than with those now on the sarcophagus and it would seem probable that these details as they now appear must be the result of restoration. In one respect, the seventeenth century drawing is less accurate than that of the sixteenth century. The figure of the barbarian child is now shown as naked, whereas Aspertini drew him clothed and, although the figure is now almost totally destroyed, the traces that remain show that he was at least partially dressed. This evidence would lead one to suspect that the figure was mutilated in part, at least, by 1620.

It is difficult to be certain whether Dal Pozzo's draftsman intended to represent the deceased on the main relief as bearded or as clean shaven. From comparison with other heads in the drawings, it appears that the most likely solution is that he interpreted all but the head in the sacrifice scene as bearded. It is equally possible, of course, that the reliefs were so badly weathered by this time that the ambiguity was intentional. But whatever the character of the portraits illustrated in the seventeenth century sketch, they do not agree in any case with the present condition of the sarcophagus.

At the end of the seventeenth century, the piece was published for the first time in Bartoli's *Admiranda Romanarum antiquitatum* (Fig. 20).²⁵ Unlike the earlier drawings, the representation here is selective; that is, only the *dextrarum iunctio* and the side with the bathing of the child are reproduced. This is hardly surprising, since the sarcophagus is included in a section devoted to nuptial scenes, where the other episodes of sacrifice and war might be considered out of place.²⁶ In the engraving the figures appear much as they were in the drawings and as they are now, and thus it would seem that this portion of the sarcophagus is comparatively well preserved. One major detail, however, does not agree, and that is the representation of the deceased as clean shaven. Since this is the one head of the protagonist which evidently has been neither restored nor replaced and which is bearded even now, although badly weathered, the indication is that it

and in altered form among drawings by Aspertini in the British Museum.

24. I am grateful to Dr. Cornelius Vermeule for information concerning the Dal Pozzo drawings, of which he is preparing an edition. The Los Angeles reliefs appear on a large drawing on two strips of heavy paper, pasted together at the center, done in brown ink and brown wash over pencil. (Vermeule, Catalogue, No. 8514). See Cornelius C. Vermeule, "The Dal Pozzo Albani Drawings of Classical Antiquities: Notes on Their Content and Arrangement," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXVIII, 1956, pp. 31ff. and especially note 4. The photographs here reproduced are used by the gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen and through the kindness of Sir Owen Morshead and Miss A. H. Scott-Elliot.

25. Pietro Santi Bartoli, *Admiranda Romanarum antiquitatum ac veteris sculpturae vestigia*, Rome, 1693, pl. 65. Beneath the *dextrarum iunctio*, there is the description "Arcae marmoreae lateralis facies" and beneath the bathing of the child

"Eiusdem arcae anterior facies."

26. Robert, *op.cit.*, p. 226, had recognized that this engraving represented the same sarcophagus that is illustrated in the Wolfegg sketchbook. "Dagegen bildet Bartoli *Admiranda* 65 . . . nur die rechte Schmalseite und die rechte Eckscene der Vorderseite ab, und da er die Schmalseite für die Front hält, ist es klar, dass damals (1693) nur noch dieses Stück erhalten war." Obviously, however, the reason that only part of the sarcophagus is illustrated is not that the rest had been destroyed, but rather a question of subject matter. The related marriage sarcophagus, now in the Uffizi, Bartoli, *op.cit.*, pl. 82, which appears in its entirety, is not specifically included in the section on marriage but appended to it. Whether Rossbach, *op.cit.*, p. 129, refers to the Los Angeles sarcophagus plate is unclear. He describes the scene of the bathing of the child, but refers to plate 63, the "Borghese Dancers." In any case, he does not seem to have known the sarcophagus itself.



1. Front



2. Left side



3. Right side

1-3. Roman Biographical Sarcophagus, Los Angeles County Museum



4. Clemency scene (detail)

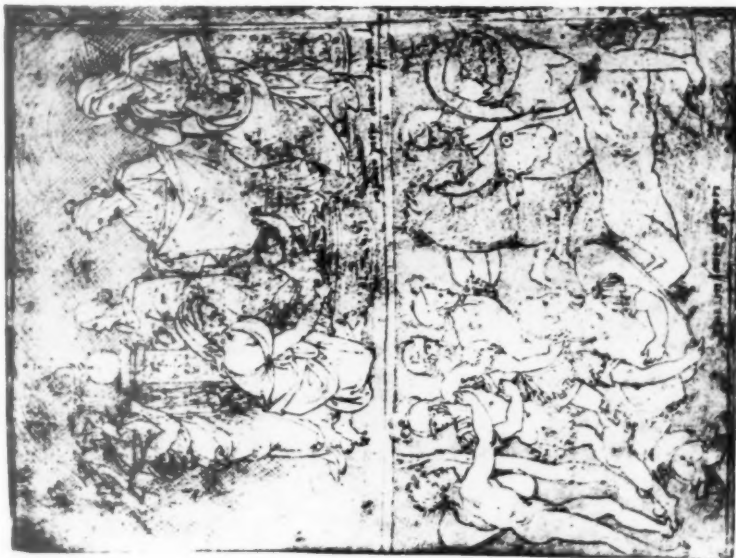


5. Sacrifice scene (detail)

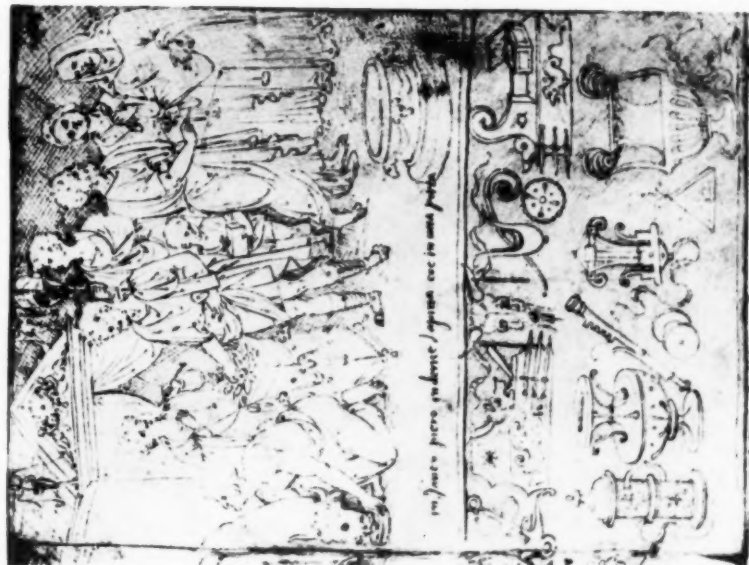


6. Marriage scene (detail)

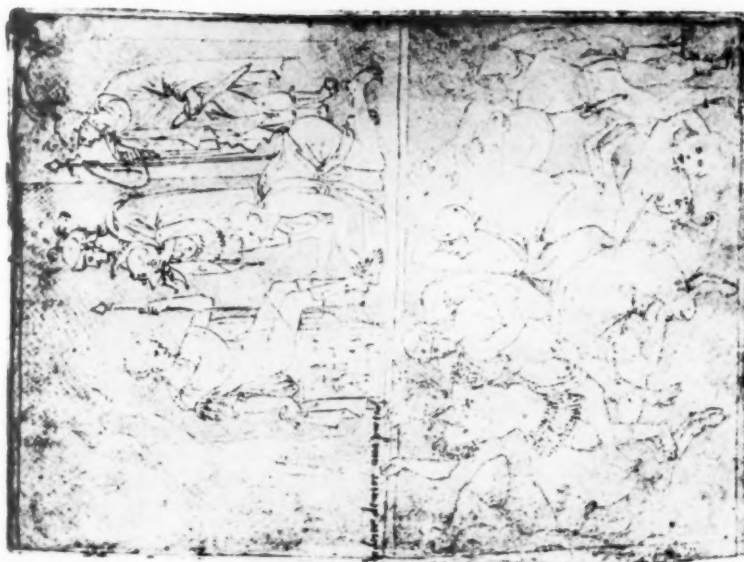
4-6. Roman Biographical Sarcophagus. Los Angeles County Museum



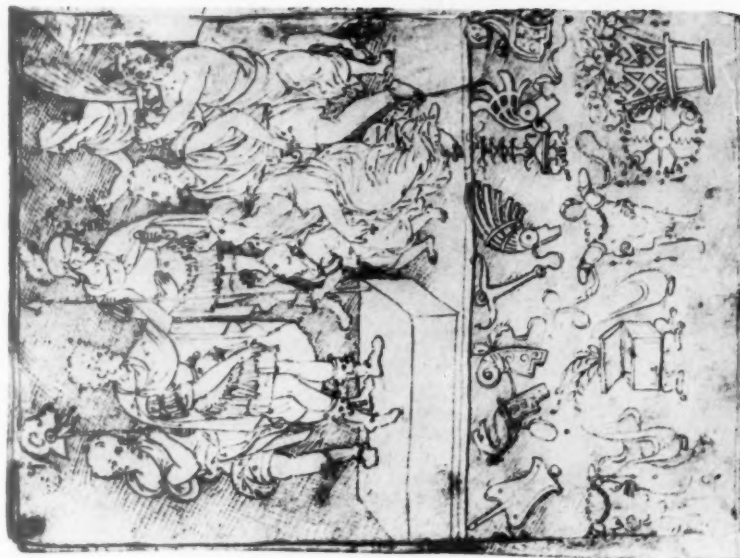
7. Fol. 23v



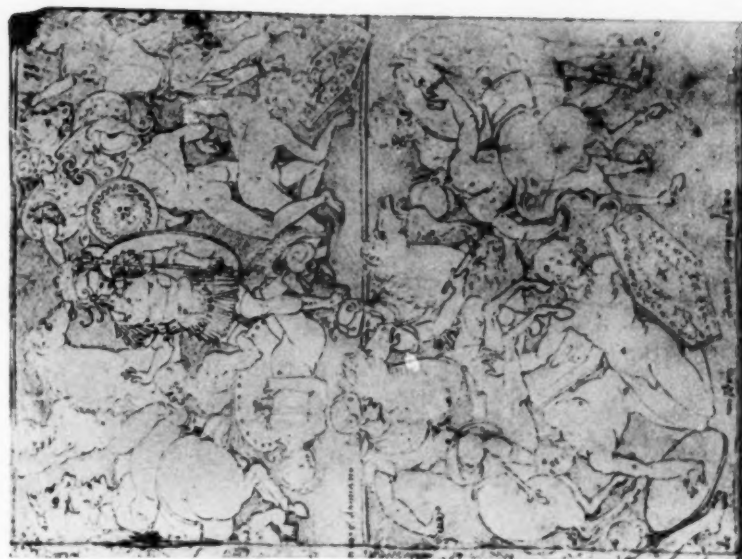
10. Fol. 28r



8. Fol. 26r



9. Fol. 27v

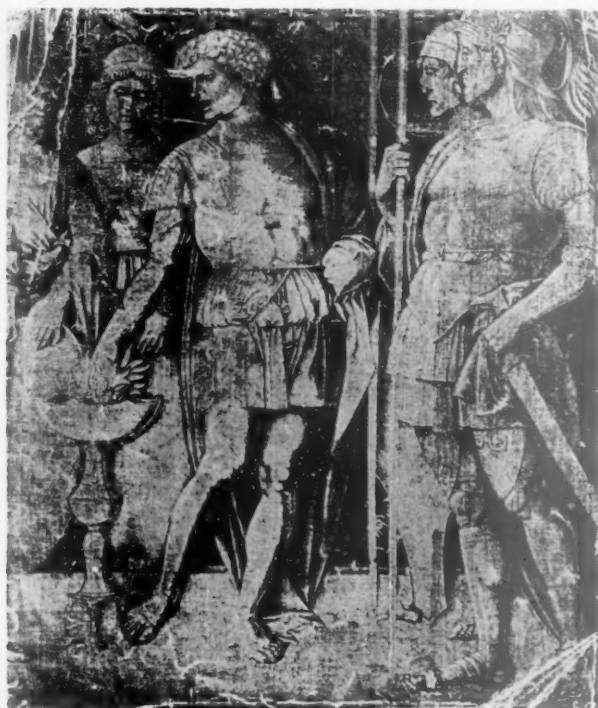


11. Fol. 33r

7-11. Amico Aspertini, Drawings after Los Angeles sarcophagus. Sketchbook in Wolfegg Castle



12. Andrea Mantegna, *The Triumph of Scipio*. London, National Gallery



13. School of Mantegna, *Mucius Scaevola*
Munich, Graphische Sammlung



14. School of Raphael, *The Works of Homer Placed in the Tomb of Achilles*. Rome, Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura



15. School of Raphael, *Augustus Saving the Aeneid*
Rome, Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura



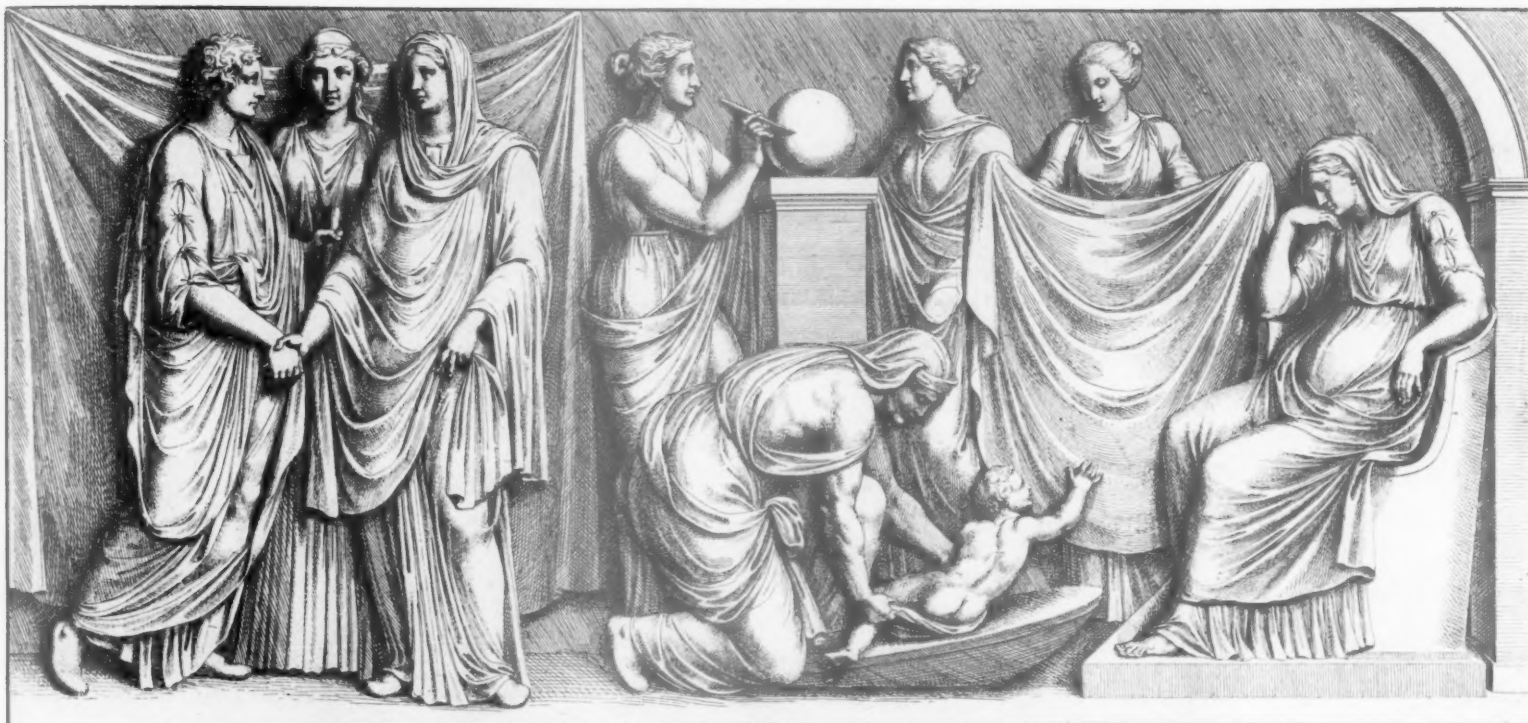
16. Giulio Romano, *Psyche and Her Father at the Oracle*
Mantua, Palazzo del Tè



17. Raphael (?), *Madonna of the Fish*. Madrid, Prado



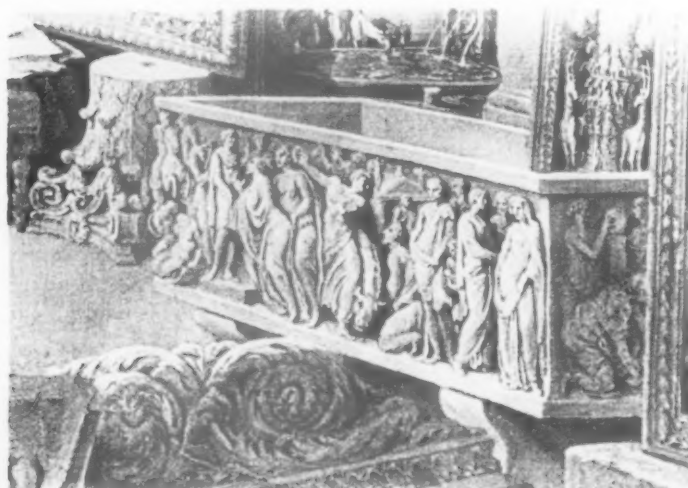
18-19. Anonymous, Drawings after Los Angeles sarcophagus. Windsor, Dal Pozzo-Albani Col.



20. Pietro Santi Bartoli, *Admiranda Romanarum antiquitatum*. Engraving after Los Angeles sarcophagus



21. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Le Antichità Romane*, IV, Frontispiece
Los Angeles sarcophagus



22. Giovanni Paolo Panini, *Ancient Rome*. Paris, Louvre
Detail of Los Angeles sarcophagus

was almost equally worn in the late seventeenth century, thus explaining the confusion as to what was actually there. Fortunately, the plate does offer one additional piece of information. According to the caption, by 1693 the sarcophagus was no longer at St. Peter's but had been moved to the Palazzo Sacchetti.²⁷ It is impossible to be altogether certain when this transfer occurred, since there is apparently no secure documentation for the antiquities of the Sacchetti collection;²⁸ one possibility is that it may have taken place shortly after the construction of the palace in the mid-sixteenth century.²⁹

This engraving was reproduced or copied several times in similar volumes in the two centuries following its original publication, most conspicuously in Montfaucon's *L'Antiquité expliquée*.³⁰ Unfortunately, none of these additional reproductions offers any further information about the sarcophagus itself. They prove nothing more than the great popularity of Bartoli's original volume.

On the other hand, half a century later, the sarcophagus appears four times in the work of two major artists within the short span of one decade. The earliest appearance occurs on the frontispiece to volume four of Piranesi's *Antichità romane*, published in 1756 (Fig. 21).³¹ Despite certain alterations, both in the shape of the relief and in a few details, such as the introduction of one of the soldiers from the left side in place of the male in the sacrifice scene and the apparent omission of Juno *pronuba* in the marriage group, the Los Angeles sarcophagus is unquestionably the one reproduced. And since the state of mutilation corresponds so exactly, either to the present condition, as in the missing arms of the *victimarius*, *popa*, and flute player, among others, or to the evidence offered by the earlier drawings, there can be no question that this was the actual state of the sarcophagus in the mid-eighteenth century. Clearly, the figure of the child in the clemency scene was partially destroyed, as it now is, and the heads of the barbarian couple, of the *popa*, the flute player, and of the deceased in the sacrifice scene, are in all cases either badly damaged or destroyed. The head of the deceased in the clemency scene, although obscured by strong shadows in the engraving, is also clearly shown as damaged.

The preparation of the *Antichità* volumes took place between 1750 and 1756³² and it seems likely that the condition of the sarcophagus at least during the early part of that six year period is accurately reflected. In the same year of 1756, the sarcophagus appears once more in the lower right foreground of one of Giovanni Paolo Panini's paintings of the monuments of ancient Rome, in the collection of the Duke of Bridgewater.³³ Within the next three years, it occurs in two other very similar paintings by Panini, one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1757)³⁴ and one in the Louvre (1759).³⁵ Although the detail is small in scale in all three paintings (Fig. 22), it is carefully done and it is evident that the head of one of the fallen warriors is missing, as is that

27. "In Aedibus de Sacchettiis."

28. For the antiquities in the Palazzo Sacchetti and their provenances, see A. J. B. Wace, "Studies in Roman Historical Reliefs," *Papers of the British School in Rome*, IV, 1907, 3, pp. 263-264 n. 3.

29. Luigi Callari, *I palazzi di Roma* (3rd ed.), Rome, 1944, pp. 256-262.

30. Bernard de Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliquée*, suppl. vol. III, 1724, Book VII, pl. LXIV and pp. 169ff.; The Rev. Mr. Spence, *Polymetis*, London, 1747, pl. XII, 3, and pp. 91-92; René Ménaud, *La vie privée des anciens*, Paris, 1881, II, p. 170, fig. 223. A curious reflection of the Los Angeles sarcophagus is found in Barbault's *Recueil de divers bas-reliefs et fragments antiques*, Rome, 1770, p. 66, 1. The engraving includes only the Fate at the left and the kneeling, old nurse, showing these figures as part of a fragment with all the edges destroyed. If it were not for the fact that other works, such as the *Aldobrandini Wedding*, are also depicted as fragments, the Barbault engraving might lead one to suspect that the Los Angeles sarcophagus was almost totally destroyed by 1770. All of Barbault's plates seem to be based on Bartoli's

engravings, although the pieces are almost always shown as fragments. It is further possible that the figure of Pronuba, pl. 67, may have been taken from Bartoli's illustration of the sarcophagus.

31. *Le Antichità romane opera di Giambattista Piranesi architetto veneziano divisa in quattro tomi*, IV (frontispiece), Rome, 1756. See also *Oeuvres choisies de J. B. Piranesi*, Paris, 1913, pl. 13.

32. Henri Focillon, *Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, Paris, 1918, pp. 63ff.; A. Hyatt Mayor, *Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, New York, 1952, p. 35.

33. I am grateful to Dr. Richard P. Wunder for valuable information concerning Panini's use of this sarcophagus. For the painting in the collection of the Duke of Bridgewater, see William Gaunt, *Rome Past and Present*, London, 1926, pl. LXXII. Mr. Wunder has kindly informed me that the painting is at present in the National Museum in Edinburgh.

34. "The First Imaginary Museum," *Art News*, LII, no. 1, March 1953, pp. 28-29 and 64; *Bulletin*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, XI, 6, February 1953, p. 174.

35. Inv. no. R. F. 4421.

of the *Virtus*. The barbarian child is not represented at all. This, then, completes the picture of destruction partially given by Piranesi's engraving. It is possible that Panini may have reconstructed the other heads which Piranesi showed as destroyed and which appear in Panini's detail as still extant, but it may also be that the piece itself was in the process of restoration in the years between 1750 and 1756.³⁶

After 1759, the sarcophagus seems to have disappeared from sight for over a century. With the exception of one apparently erroneous reference,³⁷ it does not reappear until the publication of a sales catalogue in 1907.³⁸ It is at this point that its history after 1750 becomes clear. Before the early twentieth century sale, when it was in the collection of Donna Enrichetta Castellani, it had been in the Villa Bonaparte in Rome. This villa was constructed about 1750 and according to certain authorities, it was designed by Giovanni Paolo Panini.³⁹ If this was the case, and the sarcophagus was acquired for the villa shortly after its construction, it is not at all surprising that Panini himself included it in his paintings as one of the famous relics of ancient Rome. And it seems quite possible that the piece would have been restored before it entered the villa, presumably, then, ca. 1755.

From the Castellani sale, the sarcophagus evidently went into the collection of John Pierpont Morgan and it is from the latter collection that it passed to Los Angeles. It was published once after the Rome sale, in Barrera's article on similar sarcophagi, but this publication adds nothing new to the history of the piece.⁴⁰

The reliefs are much restored, then, as they appear today. From all the evidence of the four hundred year history of the sarcophagus, it is clear that the heads of the second fallen nude warrior, of *Virtus*, the barbarian couple, the *popa*, the *victimarius* and the flute player, as well as those of the deceased in both the sacrifice and clemency scenes, are all the result of a fairly recent restoration.

With the arrival of the sarcophagus in Los Angeles, the story of its travels, its fame, and subsequent disappearance, comes to an end. But there remains one further and amusing problem. Why, when the piece was restored in the mid-eighteenth century, was such a curious and immediately recognizable type of head chosen for the deceased in the clemency and sacrifice scenes? For clearly, the model used can have been none other than a portrait of the *optimus princeps*, the Emperor Trajan, a model certainly as well known to the eighteenth century as it is today. Actually, the solution may be quite simple. From the Quattrocento on, illustrations of the legend of the "Justice of Trajan" are quite common, and Botticelli and Delacroix number among the many artists who depicted the story.⁴¹ This legend, not found in Roman literature, was certainly common

36. Unfortunately, the sarcophagus does not appear among the monuments in the *Raccolta d'antiche statue busti basirilievi ed altre sculture restaurate da Bartolomeo Cavaceppi scultore Romano*, I-III, Rome, 1768-1772.

37. A great deal of confusion exists in the literature concerning the whereabouts of the sarcophagus of the last century. K. Wernicke, "Lebenslauf eines Kindes in Sarkophag-Darstellung," *Archäologische Zeitung*, XLIII, 1885, p. 217 n. 11, citing the Bartoli reference, an incorrect reference to Montfaucon and the Dal Pozzo drawing, reports that the piece is in the Capitoline Museum, describes it as a fragment, and adds "Zwischen dextrarum iunctio und Opfer eingeschoben das Bad." (!) There is a tradition that certain Sacchetti pieces were given to the Capitoline collection but there seems to be no documentation as to what they were. Cf. Wace, *loc.cit.* Rodenwaldt, *op.cit.*, p. 4 n. 1, places the sarcophagus in a German private collection (whence Heinrich Fuhrmann, "Fragment des verlorenen Reliefs der Marcussäule," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, LII, 1937, p. 263 n. 2, no. 6.); but Otto Brendel, "Immolatio Boum," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, XLV, 1930, p. 206 n. 11,

gives no location. It seems that no one was altogether certain what had become of the sarcophagus. Barrera, *op.cit.*, p. 107, remarks that he could not find the fragment mentioned by Wernicke, although he discusses the Los Angeles sarcophagus elsewhere in his article (pp. 103-105).

38. *Catalogo della raccolta di oggetti d'arte antica appartenuti a D. Enrichetta Castellani* (Jandolo and Tavazzi), April 5-20, 1907, no. 289, pl. 25. "Alcune teste restaurate." The piece was in a far better condition then than it now is, the surface less weathered and the details much sharper.

39. Luigi Callari, *Le ville di Roma*, Rome, 1943, pp. 320ff.

40. Barrera, *op.cit.*, p. 105, comments that the Castellani catalogue indicates that certain heads are restored but that it is difficult from the photograph to be certain which they are. For this question, see below, notes 41-44.

41. I am indebted to Dr. Walter Friedlaender for information on this subject. For the legend in art, see Giacomo Boni, "Leggende," *Nuova antologia*, Rome, 1906; and more recently, Jean Babelon, "La justice de Trajan," *Revue numismatique*, 5th series, XIV, 1952, pp. 195ff and pl. VII; and Mason Hammond, "A Statue of Trajan Represented on the 'Anaglypha

by Dante's time, for he describes a relief with this scene in *Purgatorio*, Canto x.⁴² It concerns a widow who stopped Trajan as he rode to battle with his troops and persuaded him to avenge the death of her son. The story apparently was considered as an illustration of the virtue of the emperor by mediaeval and Renaissance writers and artists.

Various Roman reliefs have been proposed by scholars either as the actual source of the legend or as monuments identified with it during the Middle Ages.⁴³ In any case, once the figure of the child in the clemency scene had been destroyed on the Los Angeles sarcophagus, it would not be difficult to connect this scene with the legend. For the general is in battle dress, accompanied by his troops riding over fallen figures, and a woman clearly pleads before him. With the addition of the Trajanic portraits, the reference would be obvious and it is even possible that, after such a restoration, the sarcophagus might have been considered (and sold) as that of Trajan himself.⁴⁴

From the available evidence, then, the Los Angeles Museum possesses a sarcophagus once considered as one of the most famous and distinguished relics of the classical past, a piece of Roman sculpture whose fame has been dimmed only in its most recent history.

AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

Traiani," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XXI, 1953, pp. 130-131 n. 10. I am grateful to Dr. Vermeule for the latter reference.

42. Dante, *Purgatorio*, Canto x, 73ff.

43. Hammond, *loc.cit.*, summarizes some of the suggestions.

44. Such an idea is not as unlikely as it might seem, for Giovanni Labus, *Museo della Reale Accademia di Mantova*

descritto ed illustrato, Mantua, 1834, III, pp. 301ff. considered the related Mantua sarcophagus as illustrating "Geste di Lucio Vero," although he was not certain of the destination of the relief. See also Levi, *op.cit.*, pp. 86-87. Indeed the identification of the deceased with Trajan is suggested in the Castellani catalogue itself.



"ET PRIMA VIDIT": THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE APPEARANCE OF CHRIST TO HIS MOTHER*

JAMES D. BRECKENRIDGE

I

THE problem of Roger van der Weyden's Granada-Miraflores Altarpiece has long held a fascination for students of Flemish painting, and has been the subject of a number of penetrating studies, the most recent and definitive being that in a section of Panofsky's *Early Netherlandish Painting*.¹ Panofsky has here supplied a more comprehensible analysis of the meaning of the triptych as a whole than had hitherto been discerned; as one aspect of this, he has pointed out new facts revealing the central importance of the New York panel² both in the interpretation of this triptych, and within the broader framework of the general development of Northern painting in the fifteenth century.

This panel (Fig. 10) has as its subject Christ's Appearance to the Virgin Mary after his Resurrection, an episode not recorded in any of the canonical gospels; it has for some time been recognized that the literary source for the scene as depicted by Roger was the Pseudo-Bonaventura's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*.³ The fact that Roger had available to him models in the figurative arts on which to base his composition, however, had not been generally appreciated before Panofsky's publication. No effort, in other words, appears to have been made to examine the literary and iconographic history of this episode in Christian art as a whole, although a few studies have gathered material on the sources or development of this theme with reference to specific works or geographical areas (Spain in particular).

That the Pseudo-Bonaventura was preeminently responsible for the popularity of this subject, and shaped the iconography of most of its illustrations, cannot be doubted. His *Mirror*, written during the thirteenth century when the cult of the Virgin was at its zenith, had a tremendous impact on religious imagery, in no case less powerful than in this scene, for which it supplied a vivid, emotionally potent, and clearly imaged text. The interpolation of the Virgin Mary into the episodes of Christ's ministry after the Resurrection was not, however, unprecedented in the literature of either the Eastern or the Western church at the time of the composition of the *Mirror*; although the details supplied there are in many cases original ones, and although mention

* This study is dedicated to the late Albert M. Friend, Jr.

The writer is most grateful to the large number of individuals whose kindness and generosity made possible its completion. He has tried to mention all those directly concerned with specific references or other information in the relevant footnotes; such mention is not sufficient, however, to indicate the debt he owes Dr. Erwin Panofsky, under whose generous, illuminating (and patient) guidance the study was begun, and has been carried out. Dr. Panofsky supplied the information, as well as the stimulation, which formed the nucleus of the paper, and has continued to assist the writer in the course of its development. In addition, the writer owes a great deal to the generous cooperation of Dr. Henriette Sallmann, who is preparing a study of a slightly different aspect of the subject; the freedom with which she has made her findings available is attested by many citations in the notes which follow. The same is true of Dr. Elisabeth Schürer-von Witzleben, who is preparing the articles on various aspects of the subject for the

forthcoming *Lexikon der Marienkunde*. Miss Dorothy Miner has kindly offered many helpful suggestions in the course of the preparation of the manuscript. Dr. Gertrude Rosenthal and Dr. Cyril Mango have been of great assistance in many ways; but neither they nor any of the others mentioned here should be considered responsible for any of its shortcomings. The writer hopes, on the other hand, that it will not be considered a shortcoming that the study does not attempt to list all known examples of the iconography under examination, but simply the most outstanding or characteristic instances of the general types and phases of its history.

1. Cambridge (Mass.), 1953, pp. 259-264; 460-464.

2. H. B. Wehle and M. Salinger, *A Catalogue of Early Flemish, Dutch and German Paintings*, N.Y., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1947, pp. 30-34; for subsequent bibliography & discussion, cf. Panofsky, *loc.cit.*

3. As by M. Salinger in a note on the painting in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, x, April, 1952, p. 216.

of the episode is relatively rare prior to the thirteenth century, sufficient evidence is at hand to prove that a belief in the probability of Christ's being seen by his mother after the Resurrection had existed for at least a thousand years before Roger van der Weyden, and that descriptive accounts of this meeting must have been a part of the devout tradition in virtually all parts of the *oecumene* for most of that period. In addition, we have adequate traces of a pictorial tradition of this scene, which, together with the literary material, form an entire prehistory for the subject prior to the date when the Pseudo-Bonaventura and Roger's artistic predecessors established what may be considered a "normal" iconography.

The formulation of a self-contained, apocryphal description of an Apparition, of the type given in the *Mirror*, was a relatively late development. Until this happened, we are dealing rather with tentative revisions of the gospel narratives, in which the Virgin Mary has been inserted either intentionally or (possibly) by mistake, as a result of a desire to include her in the significant events of the last phase of Christ's ministry. As the personality of the Virgin assumed greater and greater importance in the church, the absence of any mention of her presence at these crucial events became literally unacceptable; in consequence, on the one hand efforts were made to rationalize the silence of the Evangelists, while on the other hand the missing episode or episodes came to be supplied by imaginative writers.

The canonical gospels, lamentably, are not in complete agreement as to the very sequence of events, much less the individuals involved, in the hours between the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. This circumstance, which exercised the ingenuity of innumerable learned concordancers, also made it possible for the devout person who wondered at the absence of any mention of Christ's mother in those events to see a way of giving her a part in them. Since this series of events is interrelated, it may be well to compare first what the different gospels have to say about them all: Crucifixion, Deposition, and Resurrection.

Viewing the Crucifixion from some distance, says Matthew 27:55-6, were many women who had followed Christ's ministry, among them Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of Zebedee's children. Mark 15:40-1 also says the women were some distance away; he mentions the Magdalene, Mary the mother of James the Less (*n.b.*) and Joses, and Salome. Luke 23:49 mentions no specific individuals, merely says "the women that followed Him from Galilee stood afar off." Only John 19:25 places some of the women right at the Cross itself: the Virgin Mary, Mary the wife of Cleophas, and the Magdalene. This is the scene in which Christ commends the Virgin to John's care (19:26-7).

At the Deposition, says Matthew 27:61, were Mary Magdalene and "the other Mary"; Mark 15:47 mentions the Magdalene and Mary the mother of Joses. Luke 23:55-6 again mentions only the "women which came with Him from Galilee"; while John 19:38-42 mentions no women at all.

In Matthew 28:1-8, Mary Magdalene and the "other Mary" come to the sepulcher on Sunday morning, find the tomb empty, and meet the angel who sends them to tell the Apostles that Christ is risen. On their way (vv. 9-10), they are described as meeting Christ, and falling at his feet. Mark 16:1-8 describes three women going to the tomb and seeing the angel: Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome, the three that Mark placed at the Crucifixion. Later, he mentions only the Magdalene as seeing Christ (vv. 9-10). Luke 24:1-10 does not describe any woman's encounter with Christ, but lists those at the sepulcher who see the angel as Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Mary the mother of James, and "others." John 20:1-18 describes a somewhat different sequence of events, involving, among the women, only the Magdalene: She goes to the tomb and finds it empty; she fetches Peter and John, who see the same thing; then, when she is alone once more, she sees *two* angels at the tomb. Finally, she meets Christ in the scene known iconographically as the "Noli me tangere."

Thus, according to the canonical gospels, not only does the identity of the women who saw Christ differ, but even the number of witnesses varies, so that, iconographically, we are able to distinguish the source of the scene according to the number of women present at the scene called, after the words of Matthew in the Greek, “Chairete”.⁴ If one, John; if two, Matthew; three, Mark; more than three, Luke. None of the synoptics places the Virgin by name at any of the events described above; John, who describes her at the Crucifixion, leaves no room for her insertion in any of the later episodes.

In the centuries following the establishment of the gospel canon, the Virgin assumed greater importance to the faithful. Theologically, the problem of her physical and spiritual relationship to Christ assumed importance in the Christological controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries; but, in addition, an interest in the part she played in Christ’s ministry (quite minimized in the synoptics generally) can be found in the popular literature, particularly in the apocryphal gospels which originated in the first centuries of the Christian era, and the influence of which was never entirely absent throughout the history of the Christian faith.

In these apocrypha, which usually circulated under the putative authorship of one or another of the Apostles, the Virgin was a much more important figure than in the canonical gospels; when treating of the Resurrection, several of the apocrypha include her in the group of holy women visiting the tomb of Christ on Easter morning, and otherwise place her in scenes where canonically we find other women named Mary.⁵ This is the case in the so-called “Discourse on Mary Theotokos by Cyril, Archbishop of Jerusalem,”⁶ in which the Virgin is made to speak to the Apostles James, Peter, and John, ten years after the Resurrection: “Ye saw the sufferings which the Jews inflicted upon Him when He was raised up on the Cross, and that they put Him to death, and that His Father raised Him up from the dead on the third day. And I went to the tomb, and He appeared unto me, and He spake unto me, saying, ‘Go and inform My brethren what things ye have seen. Let those whom My Father hath loved come to Galilee.’”⁷

Such transfers of episodes or attributes from one individual to another are far from rare in the apocrypha; in this case, however, it becomes clear with the examination of multiple examples that they are neither accidental, nor ignorant, mistakes, but conscious attempts to increase the part played by the Virgin in the events of Christ’s life. Such conscious accretion of attributes to the Virgin⁸ associated her more definitely with these events, and particularly with the Passion; and, in a more general way, they served to emphasize her humanity.⁹ This was also the purpose of

4. Cf. Panofsky, *op.cit.*, note 22⁵, pp. 365f.

5. Some of this material has been studied recently in a brief article by P. Bellet, “Testimonios coptos de la aparición de Christo resuscitado a la Virgen,” *Estudios bíblicos*, XIII, 1954, pp. 199-205.

6. E. A. Wallis Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, British Museum, 1915, pp. 626-651. Cyril (ca. 315-ca. 386) was Bishop of Jerusalem from 351; this text is merely an imitation of his twenty-first “Catechetical Lecture,” which was written most probably before 350, according to Budge’s introduction, p. lxxxvi.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 643.

8. The Discourse of Cyril of Jerusalem just cited contains a typical example which is obviously intentional, in the address of Mary to the Bishop which opens the sermon: “And behold, the Virgin stretcheth out her hand to me, saying, ‘O Cyril, if thou wishest to know concerning my family, and concerning the house of my fathers, hearken. I was a child promised to God, and my parents dedicated me to Him before I came into the world. My parents who produced me were of the tribe of Judah and of the House of David. My father was Joakim, which is, being interpreted, ‘Kleopa.’ My mother was Anna, who brought me forth, and who was usually called ‘Mariham.’ I am Mary Magdalene, because the name of the village wherein I was born was ‘Magdalia.’ My name is ‘Mary, who

belongeth to Kleopa.’” I am Mary who belongeth to Iakkobos (James), the son of Joseph the carpenter, into whose charge they committed me.” Budge, *op.cit.*, pp. 629f.

9. This intent is expressed clearly in the prologue to the Discourse of Cyril: “This is the day (i.e., the day of the delivery of the sermon) wherein the queen, the mother of the King of Life, tasted death like every other human being, because she was flesh and blood. And, moreover, she was begotten by a human father, and brought forth by a human mother, like every other man. Let Ebion now be ashamed, and Harpocraton, these godless heretics who say in their madness that ‘she was a force (or, abstract power) of God which took the form of a woman, and came upon the earth, and was called ‘Mary,’ and this force gave birth to Emmanuel for us.’” *Ibid.*, p. 628.

An attempt to analyze the Christological content of these passages would involve us in a discussion out of all proportion to the framework of our present study. Suffice it to say that, in general, the works in which there occur passages referring to the Virgin’s participation in the events of the Resurrection are, although apocryphal in content, theologically close to the orthodox position, rather than partaking of either the Monophysite or the Nestorian extremes of heresy. This, of course, is why their tradition survived and became a part of the general body of orthodox belief.

the most carefully described of these scenes from among the group of apocrypha derived from the canonical "Chairete" or "Noli me tangere" scenes, that in the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*.¹⁰

An even more imaginative variant of the Resurrection story exists, moreover, considerably less indebted to the details of the gospel narrative, and recalling in its imagery the most elaborate of the Coptic apse paintings, replete with all the glories of the heavens and their hosts;¹¹ this work, attributed at the time to the Apostle Bartholomew, represents the farthest extreme from the basic narrative which was the foundation of these apocrypha.

Concern over the lack of agreement among the gospels on the part played by the holy women, and particularly the Virgin, in the events following the Crucifixion was not confined, however,

10. E. Révillout, "Les apocryphes coptes," *Patrologia orientalis*, 11, 2, 1904, pp. 169f. "She [the Virgin] opened her eyes, for they were lowered in order not to view the earth, scene of so many dreadful events. She said to Him with joy, 'Rabboni, my lord, my God, my son, thou art resurrected, indeed resurrected.' She wished to hold Him in order to kiss Him upon the mouth. But He prevented her and pleaded with her, saying, 'My mother, do not touch me. Wait a little, for this is the garment which My Father has given me when He resurrected me. It is not possible for anything of flesh to touch me until I go into heaven.'

"This body is however the one in which I passed nine months in thy loins . . . Know these things, O my mother. This flesh is that which I received in thee. This is that which has reposed in my tomb. This is also that which is resurrected today, that which now stands before thee. Fix your eyes upon my hands and upon my feet. O Mary, my mother, know that it is I, whom thou hast nourished. Doubt not, O my mother, that I am thy son. It is I who left thee in the care of John at the moment when I was raised on the cross.

"Now therefore, O my mother, hasten to tell my brothers, and say to them . . . 'According to the words which I have told to you, go into Galilee: You shall see me. Hasten, for it is not possible for me to go into heaven with my Father, no longer to see you more.'"

Révillout, on pp. 123-129, asserts that this is the text referred to under the name of the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles* by Origen in the third century, and dates therefore from the second century A.D. This thesis was strongly contested by A. Baumstark in *Revue biblique*, n.s., III, 1906, pp. 245-265. Baumstark maintained that the published fragments do not pertain to the early, probably Gnostic, text mentioned by Origen, but constitute a considerably later product that adopted a famous title to promote its own merits. The dating by Révillout, although he never completely refuted Baumstark's charges, has been more often accepted by recent compilers of early church literature (*inter alia*, B. Studle, *Patrologia*, Freiburg-i.-B., 1937, p. 277; B. Altaner, *Patrologie*, Freiburg-i.-B., 1950, p. 49). If the dating is correct, this text is by far the earliest we have showing this tendency toward the interpolation of the Virgin into the Resurrection episodes; the fullness of the narrative setting would indicate, furthermore, a highly advanced tradition bearing upon this scene. It is true, however, that we have the evidence of Tatian, adduced below, note 13, to give some confirmation of the belief in this episode at so early a date.

11. This is in the *Book of the Resurrection of Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle*, a work mentioned by St. Jerome, and dating most probably from the fourth century, although Bellet, *loc.cit.*, believes certain parts date back to the third and possibly even the second century. The text given by Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, The British Museum, 1913, pp. 187-192, from which the following excerpts are quoted, does not vary in this passage from that of Révillout, *op.cit.*, pp. 188-194, where the Coptic text is also given.

"And early in the morning of the Lord's Day, whilst it was still dark, the holy women came forth to the tomb, and their names are these: Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother

of James, whom Jesus had delivered out of the hand of Satan, and Salome the temptress, and Mary who ministered unto Him, and Martha her sister, and Susannah, the wife of Khousa, the steward of Herod, who had refused to share his bed, and Berenice, the fountain of whose blood Jesus had stopped for her in Capernaum, and Leah, the widow, whose son God had raised from the dead in Nain, and the woman who was a sinner, unto whom the Saviour said, 'Thy sins, which are many, are remitted unto thee; go in peace.' These women were standing in the garden of Philogenes, the gardener, whose son the Saviour had healed, and Simon, at the time when He was coming down from the Mount of Olives, and all His Apostles. . . .

"And Mary said unto Philogenes, 'If thou art really he I know thee.' Philogenes said unto her, 'Thou art Mary, the mother of Tharkahariamath,' the interpretation of which is 'the joy, the blessing, and the gladness.' Mary said unto him, 'If it be thou who hast taken away the Body of my Lord, tell me where thou hast laid It, and I myself will carry It away.' Philogenes said unto her, 'O my sister, what is the meaning of these words which thou speakest, O thou holy Virgin, the mother of the Christ?'" Philogenes tells how he had urged that the tomb in his own garden be used for the sepulcher of Christ; and how, when he came to anoint the body of the Lord, he saw the whole host of heaven singing hymns, and God the Father raising Christ the Son from the dead.

"And the Saviour appeared in their presence mounted upon the chariot of the Father of the Universe, and He cried out in the language of His Godhead, saying, 'Mari Khar Mariath,' whereof the interpretation is, 'Mary, the mother of the Son of God.' Then Mary, who knew the interpretation of the words, said, 'Hramboune Kathiathari Mioth,' whereof the interpretation is, 'The Son of the Almighty, and the Master, and my Son.' And He said unto her, 'Hail, My mother. Hail My holy ark. Hail, thou who hast sustained the life of the whole world. . . . O My mother, go thou and say unto My brethren that I have risen from the dead. Say thou unto them: I shall go unto My Father, Who is your Father, and unto My God and Lord, Who is your Lord. Keep in remembrance all our words which I have spoken unto you . . .'

"Then the Saviour, the Life, our salvation, our King . . . our Helper, our Hope, opened His mouth and cried out saying: 'Thou shalt take thy seat in My kingdom in blessing.' O my brethren the Apostles, believe me, I Bartholomew, the Apostle of Jesus, saw the Son of God, standing upon the chariot of the Cherubim. And round and about Him there were standing thousands of thousands of the Cherubim, and tens of thousands of tens of thousands of the Seraphim, and tens of thousands of tens of thousands of the Powers, and their heads were bowed, and they made answer to the blessing, saying 'Amen, Hallelujah,' to that which the Son did speak with His mouth to Mary. Then our Saviour stretched out His right hand, which was full of blessing, and He blessed the womb of Mary His mother. . . ." The womb of Mary is then blessed by God the Father and by the Holy Spirit as well. "These were the things which the Saviour spoke unto Mary His mother. And Mary departed and made known to the Apostles that the Lord had risen from the dead, and had said to her, 'Come ye to Galilee at dawn tomorrow, and I will



1. *The Holy Women at the Sepulcher and Christ Appearing to the Holy Women*
Rabula Gospels (detail). Florence, Laurentian Library



2. Workshop of Pacino da Bonaguida, *Scenes of the Resurrection*.
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 194
(Courtesy Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum)



3. *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*. London, Brit. Mus.
MS Roy. 20 B IV, fol. 141
(Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



4-5. *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*. Paris, Bib. Nat.,
MS fr. 9196, fol. 203v





6. Workshop of the Rohan Master
Christ Appearing to the Virgin
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
MS 62, fol. 26v (Courtesy Syndics
of the Fitzwilliam Museum)



7. *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*. Baltimore, Walters MS W. 289, fol. 34



8. Master of St. Mark, *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*
New York, Morgan Library



9. *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*. Brussels, Bib. Roy. MS II, 7831, fol. 44

to the vulgar apocrypha. It was also shown by clerical writers from an early date, and occurs frequently enough in their writings to indicate both an awareness of the problem and a tendency to solve it in a fashion closely parallel to that of the composers of the apocrypha we have been considering. Already in the second century, Tatian, who was later condemned as having lapsed into heresy, but some of whose writings were accepted by the Syrian church for centuries, seems to have confused the Virgin Mary with the Magdalene in his account of the episode of the “Noli me tangere”;¹² but he also raised the point that was to become the fundamental thesis of all the most orthodox writers touching the subject: that a meeting at which Christ announced his Resurrection to his mother was no less than a logical necessity in the completion of his ministry.¹³

The fathers of the church first touched upon the matter from its periphery: Although they hesitated to project their interpretation into succeeding episodes, both John Chrysostom¹⁴ and Gregory of Nyssa,¹⁵ for example, identified the “Mary, the mother of James and Joses” of Matthew 27:56 with the Virgin Mary, mother of Christ. In the sixth century, then, a whole corps of Antiochene commentators took the next step of equating this “Mary, the mother of James and Jesus” with the “other Mary” of Matthew 28:1, to whom was vouchsafed the sight of the Risen Christ: they include Severus of Antioch,¹⁶ the Pseudo-Victor of Antioch,¹⁷ and Anastasius Sinaita, Patriarch of Antioch from 561.¹⁸

All of these writers, and those who followed them in turn, were in a sense deriving their interpretation from that of Chrysostom and Gregory, making only a logical extension of their thought; but by the ninth century a new trend of interpretation began, as Giannelli has trenchantly pointed out.¹⁹ It occurs earliest, so far as can be determined, in a Homily on the Presence of the Virgin at the Sepulcher, by George, ninth century Metropolitan of Nicomedia.²⁰ George of Nicomedia avoided the pitfalls of Scriptural inconcordance by suggesting that the Virgin can be assumed to have been present at the sepulcher on Easter morning before the other women arrived; he intimated that the reason she was not mentioned is that the texts speak only of the women who *came* to the tomb; while she was *already there*. In other words, Christ’s mother, the only one of his followers to have had perfect confidence in his ultimate triumph, remained at his tomb from the time of its sealing until that of the arrival of the other women on Easter morning. George described the long vigil by the silent tomb, and finally the prayer of Mary to her Son, in which she expressed complete faith in his glorification, requesting only that he vouchsafe her a glimpse of him when he did arise from the dead: “When you have come, and the joy of Resurrection is accomplished, first of all appear to announce this to your Mother.” And so, although, as George readily acknowledged, the Scriptures say nothing of it (for, he averred, it was not revealed to

give unto you My peace which My Father gave unto Me as I came into the world.”

12. Preserved in Ephrem Syrus’ commentary on Tatian’s *Diatessaron*: J. B. Aucher and G. Moesinger, *Evangelii Concordantis Expositio facta a S. Ephraemo Doctore Syro*, Venice, 1876, pp. 268-270. This error may be the source of a variant reading to the same effect, in a work of the Pseudo-Justin, Migne, *Patr. gr.*, 6, col. 1293 note 72; the original text is Antiochene and of the late fourth century, but the date at which this variant entered cannot be determined.

13. Aucher and Moesinger, *op.cit.*, p. 54: “Ita et post victoriam ab eo de inferis reportatam quum mater eum videret, qua mater eum amplexari voluit.”

14. Migne, *Patr. gr.*, 58, col. 777. In a recent and most valuable article, C. Giannelli has drawn attention to this and other patristic writings bearing upon our subject: “Témoignages patristiques grecs en faveur d’une apparition du Christ ressuscité à la Vierge Marie,” *Revue des études byzantines*, XI, 1953 (*Mélanges Martin Jugie*), pp. 106-119. In his effort to establish as early as possible a date for the introduction of the Virgin into the Resurrection scene itself in patristic sources, Giannelli has somewhat overstepped the bounds of

prudence in emending Chrysostom’s text with the addition of the word “ressuscité” at a key point, *ibid.*, p. 108, in his translation. Under the circumstances, the statement that “L’autre Marie, que Matthieu nous montre un peu plus loin assise, avec la Magdaléenne, . . . ne peut être que la Vierge,” remains Giannelli’s own, and not that of Chrysostom.

15. Migne, *Patr. gr.*, 46, col. 648, overlooked by Giannelli, who cites many of the authors mentioned in the remainder of this section, and to whom I am indebted for some of the same citations.

16. A homily dated to 515, in M.-A. Kugener and E. Triffaux, *Patr. or.*, XVI, Paris, 1922, p. 810.

17. In a *catena* published by J. A. Cramer, *Catena Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, I, Oxford, 1844, pp. 441-443.

18. Migne, *Patr. gr.*, 89, cols. 809-812; this was cited by Archimandrite Cyprian, in an article, “L’apparition du Christ ressuscité,” *Pravoslavnaia mys’* (*La pensée orthodoxe*), VIII, Paris, 1951, pp. 86-112, as summarized by Giannelli, *op.cit.*, p. 119.

19. *ibid.*, p. 116.

20. Migne, *Patr. gr.*, 100, cols. 1489-1504.

the Apostles at the time), the first appearance of Christ was in fact made to his mother: and George proceeded to describe it, not at all in terms of the sort of encounter between two people given by the gospels in the case of Mary Magdalene or the other women, but as a mighty vision of glory, worthy only of an apocalypse—or of just such an apocryphal work as the *Book of the Resurrection of Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle*. George of Nicomedia is known as one of the more individualistic of the mid-Byzantine writers, taking far more than most of his contemporaries from apocryphal sources, and composing sermons upon subjects outside the scope of ordinary Byzantine religious discussion;²¹ we may feel confident that he would not have scrupled to use just such an apocryphal gospel as the source for the descriptive part of his sermon, while blending his own peculiar logic to the argument he wished to make.

George's contribution, then, was to show a way around the vexatious matter of the re-identification of the Marys at the tomb, by a bold interpolation of a whole new episode, rather than a rereading of the gospel narrative as given; and he was not forgotten. His solution is essentially the one employed by several later Byzantine writers such as Metaphrastes,²² Theophanes Kera-meus,²³ and Gregory Palamas.²⁴ In addition, at a fairly early date the idea found its way into the liturgy of the Eastern church.²⁵

It would have been surprising if this tradition of the Virgin's presence at these events had found no reflection whatever in the visual arts of the East Christian world, especially in view of the fact that the "Chairete" scene, on which exegetical ambiguity had already played its hand, was such a popular one in Byzantine art.²⁶ So it is that at least two examples can in fact be located in the sixth century painting of Syria and Palestine: a miniature of the *Crucifixion* and the *Resurrection* in the Rabula Gospels, dated to A.D. 586-587,²⁷ in which, of two holy women speaking to the angel at the tomb and then kneeling before the Risen Christ, one is distinguished by her halo as the Virgin Mary (Fig. 1);²⁸ and a panel of Palestinian provenance in Rome, of which Morey observed, "We learn also from our panel that 'the other Mary' of Matthew, in the scene of Easter morn, was supposed in Palestine to be the Virgin, since the same figure in black mantle decorated with white spots is used for the Virgin of the Ascension."²⁹ This pinpointing of the locus of origin seems to accord with our literary evidence, strongest in that area, and showing in

21. Cf. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, Munich, 1897 (I. von Müller, *Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft*, IX, 1), pp. 166f.

22. Migne, *Patr. gr.*, 115, cols. 555f.

23. *ibid.*, 132, cols. 621-624.

24. *ibid.*, 151, cols. 235-248, a narrative embroidering directly upon the fabric of Matthew's gospel; Christ refuses to allow the Magdalene to touch him, but after she has gone, his mother is permitted to touch his feet.

25. Perhaps the earliest such occurrence, by implication at least, is to be found in one of the hymns of Romanos "the melodious," the sixth century poet-cleric who introduced a new type of metrical hymn, the canticle or *kontakion*, into the Constantinopolitan service. At strophe 12 of his "Canticle of the Virgin beside the Cross," the Virgin mourns that, once her Son has died on the cross, she shall not see him again; and Christ replies from the cross, "Be of good courage, Mother, since thou shalt be the first to see me from the tomb." (J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra spicilegio solesmensi*, 1, Paris, 1876, pp. 101-107, tr. G. G. King, in "Iconographical Notes on the Passion," *ART BULLETIN*, XVI, 1934, p. 296. Cf. M. Carpenter, "The Paper that Romanos Swallowed," *Speculum*, VII, 1932, pp. 3-22.) Although no canticle describing the Resurrection itself has as yet been published, one is almost implied by this statement, with the probability that it would include the presence of the Virgin at some at least of its events.

In this connection, it is perhaps worthy of note that the legend which describes how Romanos first came to compose a canticle describes him as a native of Emesa in Syria, who

had been a deacon in Beirut before coming to the Church of the Virgin in Constantinople. The canticle form itself was not really new, but an adaptation into Greek of an established Syriac hymn type. This sort of mobility both of people and of practices within the greater Byzantine Empire does a lot to explain how little-known concepts such as this one were able to circulate and appear, at fortuitous moments, in widely separated areas.

Other liturgical citations of the Virgin Mary at the Resurrection are mentioned by Giannelli, *op.cit.*, and Bellet, *op.cit.*, and are the principal subject of Cyprian, *op.cit.*; one of them, a disputed passage discussed by Giannelli, pp. 116-119, is of interest to us in relation to much later iconographical developments: Giannelli translates it as "Tu (Christ) as dépouillé l'enfer sans en subir l'atteinte, tu as marché au devant de la vierge, au moment que tu donnais la vie." Cf. the Bolognese paintings of the late sixteenth century, discussed below in Section VIII.

26. Cf. Gabriel Millet, *Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Evangile aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, Paris, 1916, pp. 540-550.

27. Repr. by Guido Biagi, *Riproduzioni di manoscritti miniati: Cinquanta tavole in fototipia da codici della R. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, Florence, 1914, pl. 1.

28. So recognized by S. A. Usov, "The Significance of the Word Deesis" (in Russian), *Drevnosti Trudy Imp. Mosk. Arxeol. Obschestva*, XI, 3, 1887, pp. 58f.

29. "The Painted Panel from the Sancta Sanctorum," *Festschrift Paul Clemen*, Bonn, 1926, p. 166.

the case of Romanos “the melodious” an actual instance of its diffusion from that center into other areas of the Byzantine world.³⁰

The Virgin continues to appear in occasional miniatures, usually showing traces of a Syrian-Palestinian archetype, of the middle Byzantine period: examples are in Petropolitanus xx1, a gospel lectionary of the 8-10th century in the Leningrad State Library;³¹ Gospel No. 5 in the library of Iriwon monastery on Mount Athos;³² and the Freer Gospels No. 4 in Washington.³³ In addition, the scene finds its way to Western Europe in the twelfth century: the Virgin is distinguished from the other holy women in a mosaic over the crossing of San Marco in Venice;³⁴ she is the only one with a halo in a twelfth century miniature of the Breviarum Franconicum at Cologne;³⁵ and she is also singled out in an initial in the Codex Gisle of about 1300, in the Osnabrück Domgymnasium.³⁶ Interestingly enough, it seems to survive in rare instances right through the Renaissance: one of Fra Angelico’s assistants places Mary at the tomb of Christ in a fresco in San Marco in Florence;³⁷ and as late as about 1614, Rubens placed the Virgin in the center of the group of holy women hearing the words of the angels, in a painting formerly in the Czernin Gallery, Vienna.³⁸

II

We have examined evidence indicating that in the twelfth century the representation of the Virgin Mary in the events of the Resurrection began to occur in Western Europe; it would be unusual indeed if there were not some evidence in the literature of that area as well. The concept was of course by now familiar to Western commentators; already in fourth century Milan, St. Ambrose expressed the idea that the Virgin deserved the honor of seeing Christ after his Resurrection, and the belief that such a meeting had in fact taken place: his words were, “Vidit ergo Maria resurrectionem Domini: et prima vidit, et credidit.”³⁹ Another Western writer, the poet Sedulius, who seems to have lived in Northern Italy in the first part of the fifth century, and may have been in Greece as well, apparently was aware of the Eastern writings that placed the Virgin among the women at the tomb;⁴⁰ he used this knowledge to enlarge upon Ambrose’s thought in his description of the Resurrection, where he laid great stress on the Ambrosian imagery paralleling the Virgin birth and the Resurrection itself, the womb and the tomb.⁴¹

But there would appear to have been a considerable lapse before the matter was taken up again in the West; of course, throughout the early Middle Ages, the matter of Christological definitions was of far less importance in the West than in the Greek East. For the same reasons, the cult

30. On the other hand, we must take with a grain of salt the description of the tenth century Church of the Appearance of Christ to His Mother, adjoining the Magdalene chapel of the Holy Sepulcher (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, VII, p. 427). According to Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, II, 1914, pp. 255, 257, we are dealing with a later retitling of a chapel on the site of the “Noli me tangere” episode.

31. Cited, with the following examples, by C. R. Morey, “Notes on East Christian Miniatures,” *ART BULLETIN*, XI, 1929, p. 71, fig. 83; on pp. 70-73 Morey makes the point about the affinities of these miniatures to pre-Iconoclastic East Christian works.

32. C. R. Morey, *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection*, N.Y., 1914, p. 57, fig. 28.

33. *ibid.*, pl. IX.

34. *ibid.*, p. 52, fig. 25.

35. Domarchiv, no. 215, fol. 88v; I am indebted to Dr. von Witzleben for this interesting example.

36. H. Schrader, *Ikongraphie der Christlichen Kunst*, I: *Die Auferstehung Christi*, Berlin, 1932, pl. 8, fig. 38a; Schrader’s interesting study cites other examples, p. 108.

37. J. Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, N.Y., 1952, p. 182, fig. xxi, and p. 185, no. 8, attributed to the “Master of Cell

2.” G. G. King had already pointed out that the contemporaneous deliberations of the Council of Florence might account for certain other Eastern elements in other frescoes in S. Marco done by Angelico himself; and she even found close precedents in George of Nicomedia! (*Op.cit.*, pp. 291f.)

38. A. Rosenberg, *P. P. Rubens (Klassiker der Kunst)*, Stuttgart, n.d., p. 79.

39. *Liber de Virginitate*, I, iii, 14, in Migne, *Patr. lat.*, 16, col. 283. Ambrose’s discussion is particularly interesting in that he relates the symbolism of Christ’s unused tomb to that of the Virgin womb; so he remarks that Christ’s rising from the dead repeats the Virgin birth.

40. *Opera Paschale*, v, in *Sedulius Opera Omnia*, ed. J. Hümer, Vienna, 1885, p. 295.

41. *Carmen Paschale*, v, in *ibid.*, pp. 140f.; and in *Opera Paschale*, v, pp. 297f. “Haec honorem Mariae praesentat et gloriam, quae, Domini cum claritate perspicua semper mater esse cernatur, semper tamen virgo conspicitur. Huius see Dominus ilico post triumphum resurrectionis ostendit, ut pia genetrix et benigna talis miraculi testimonium vulgatura, quae fecit nascentis ianua, dum venisset in mundum, haec esset eius et nuntia deseruit infernum.”

of the Virgin was of minor importance in that area during a period when, in Constantinople, it came to assume preeminent place in the practice of the faith. In the eleventh or twelfth century, however, Latin writers began to take notice of the subject once more, just as it began to appear in Western art, at a time when, as we are aware, the Crusaders were bringing a flood of Greek and other Eastern material from the Levant.

When such notice was taken by Western writers, it tended to follow the approach of Ambrose, i.e., that such an appearance, although unrecorded by the Evangelists, was a logical necessity, which must be accepted even without Scriptural confirmation. This attitude, as distinct from the Eastern one which sought to fit such an appearance into the recorded events, represented a new stage of interpretation which, finally, set the stage for the creation of a new and original iconographic setting for the episode. Such an opinion regarding the occurrence of a meeting was held by Eadmer (1064-1124), a follower of St. Anselm in England,⁴² as well as by the German Rupert of Deutz, writing late in the twelfth century,⁴³ who took Christ's appearance to the Virgin almost as a matter of course. It is clear that by the thirteenth century, a common body of belief was in existence in the West, requiring only a more concrete form of expression in order to take a permanent place among the living images of the Christian faith.⁴⁴

Just such a verbal image was provided, as we remarked, by the anonymous thirteenth century author known as the Pseudo-Bonaventura,⁴⁵ whose description of the meeting between Christ and his mother in the *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* gave the scene a form which was to influence not only all future descriptions, but in one way or another virtually all the pictorial representations which were to be made of it:⁴⁶

42. *De Excellentia Virginis Mariae*, vi, in Migne, *Patr. lat.*, 159, cols. 567-570. Preaching on the Joy of the Resurrection, Eadmer says, "But if anyone should ask why the Evangelists do not describe the resurrected Lord appearing first and quickly to His sweet Mother, that He should mitigate her sorrow, we reply what we have heard inquiring into this matter . . .," and what he concludes is that the very narrative character of the Gospels made it impossible for the Evangelists to describe the transports of joy which filled the Virgin when she saw her Son after the Resurrection: for if her joy was so great when He was alive, who can comprehend what it must have been when He arose from the dead?

43. *De Divinis Officiis*, vii, 25, in Migne, *Patr. lat.*, 170, cols. 205f: ". . . cum rediuvus Filius, illi ante omnes fortasse mortales, mortale Virginem nondefraudans honore, victoriam suam annuntiavit. . ."

44. "It is the common belief that Our Lord appeared first of all to the Virgin Mary. The Evangelists, it is true, do not speak of this; but if we were to take their silence for a denial, we should have to conclude that the risen Christ did not once appear to His mother . . .": Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, tr. Wyzewa, Paris, 1905, p. 221.

These frequent references to the episode have led some writers to infer that examples might have existed in the figurative arts, distinct from those in which the Virgin is one of the women at the Tomb, prior to the fourteenth century. *Inter alia* E. Mâle, in *L'art religieux du treizième siècle en France*, Paris, 1923, p. 227, observes that the surviving panels of Christ's Appearances from the choir of Notre-Dame de Paris, dating from the late thirteenth century, follow the *Golden Legend* quite closely; he infers from this that one of the lost panels *might* have portrayed his appearance to the Virgin—but no evidence exists to prove or disprove such an assumption, save the fact that Voragine does not delineate such a scene, but merely refers to its probability. (I am indebted to Dr. Sallmann for bringing this interesting passage to my notice.)

Similarly, from time to time some of the less explicitly

detailed illustrations of Christ's other appearances are interpreted as representing an appearance to the Virgin. One example of this is reproduced in F. Saxl and R. Wittkower, *British Art and the Mediterranean*, London, 1948, pl. 27, fig. 1, a twelfth century relief from Durham which is classified by the Index of Christian Art as including an appearance of Christ to the Virgin; there is nothing in its iconography, however, to indicate any variation in this relief from normal representations of the two episodes of Matthew 28 and perhaps also Mark 16 or John 20: i.e., there is nothing to single out one of these women as the Virgin Mary. (Saxl's and Wittkower's book provides superb documentation for the intensiveness of Byzantine influence in the figurative arts in the West from the twelfth century.)

Conversely, the Index correctly classifies as a "Noli me tangere" a miniature from a sacramentary produced in Liège around 1050 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 23261, fol. 69r) which is illustrated in M. Rooses, *Art in Flanders*, N.Y., 1914, p. 11, fig. 21, as a scene of Christ appearing to his mother. (Once again I am indebted to Dr. Sallmann.) The most recent studies of this manuscript, such as K. H. Usener, "Das Breviar CLM 23261 der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek und die Anfänge der romanischen Buchmalerei in Lüttich," *Münchener Jahrbuch für bildende Kunst*, 1, 1950, pp. 78ff., concur in considering the scene an illustration of the appearance to the Magdalene rather than to the Virgin.

Taken as a generalization, as dangerous as generalizations always are, it would seem that there are no extant illustrations of an independently conceived scene of Christ's Appearance to his mother prior to about 1300.

45. Identified with seeming correctness as Johannes de Caulibus of San Gimignano, by P. L. Oliger, "Le 'Meditationes vitae Christi' del Pseudo-Bonaventura," *Studi francescani*, n.s., vii, 1921, pp. 143ff.; n.s., viii, 1922, pp. 18ff. Discussion of the problem is not, however, quite concluded.

46. I have modernized the English of *The Mirror of the blessed lyf of Jesu Christ*, Oxford, 1908, pp. 261-263.

And then about the same time, that is to say early in the morning, Mary Magdalene, Mary, Jacob, and Salome, taking their leave first of Our Lady, took their way toward the grave with precious ointments. Dwelling still at home Our Lady made her prayer in this manner: “Almighty God, Father most merciful and most pitying, as You well know, my dear Son Jesus is dead and buried. For truly He was nailed to the cross and hanged between two thieves. And after He was dead, I helped to bury Him with my own hands, Whom I conceived without corruption, and bore Him without travail or sorrow; and He was all my good, all my desire, and all the life and comfort of my soul; but at last He passed away from me beaten, wounded, and torn. And all His enemies rose against Him, scorned Him, and damned Him; and His own disciples forsook Him and flew from Him; and I, His sorrowful Mother, might not help Him. And as You know well, Father of pity and of mercy, that have all power and might, You would not then deliver Him from cruel death; but now You must restore Him again to me alive, and that I beseech Your high majesty. Lord, where is He now, and why tarrieth He so long from me? God the Father, send Him, I pray You, to me; for my soul may not be in rest until the time that I see Him. And my sweet Son, what doest Thou now? And why abidest Thou so long ere Thou comest to me? Truly Thou saidst that Thou shouldst again arise the third day; and is this not the third day, my dear Son? Arise up therefore now, all my joy, and comfort me with Thy coming again, whom Thou discomfortest through Thy going away?”

And with that, she so praying, sweet tears shedding, lo suddenly Our Lord Jesus came and appeared to her, and in all white clothes with a glad and lovely cheer, greeting her in these words: “Hail, holy Mother.” And anon she turning said: “Art Thou Jesus, my blessed Son?” And therewith she kneeling down honored Him; and He also kneeling beside her said: “My dear Mother, I am. I have risen, and lo, I am with thee.” And then both rising up kissed the other; and she with unspeakable joy clasped Him sadly, resting all upon Him, and He gladly bare her up and sustained her.

This vivid and affecting narrative gave Pseudo-Bonaventura his great influence over subsequent popularizing narratives of the life of Christ and of the Virgin; for the *Mirror* itself created a new vogue for this type of easily assimilable retelling of the Scriptures. The scene was mentioned in such works of personal mysticism as the *Revelationes* of St. Birgitta of Sweden, who died in 1373,⁴⁷ as well as in such narrative works as the *Vita Jesu Christi* of her contemporary, Ludolf the Carthusian of Saxony.⁴⁸

The latter work includes a brief chapter headed, “Of the most glorious resurrection of Jesus Christ Our Lord, and how He appeared to Our Lady, His most holy mother,” which is little more than an abbreviated version of Pseudo-Bonaventura: On Sunday morning, after Christ had risen, the holy women take leave of the Virgin, who remains in her chambers praying while they go to the sepulcher with their ointments. Christ appears in the Virgin’s room, and the two embrace and speak together, thus celebrating the first Easter Sunday: “But the Gospels say nothing of this notable occurrence. Nonetheless we place it here in first place, for one should certainly believe that it happened thus; and the matter is even contained in full in a separate legend of the Resurrection of Our Lord.”⁴⁹

Repetitions and variants of this story appeared time and again in the literature of the later Middle Ages, often without achieving more than merely local circulation; some of these, which happened to have direct influence on specific works of art, will be mentioned in our examination of those works. But there is one later redaction of the story, of wide popularity, which does deserve special notice, both because of the novelty of its approach, and because it does introduce some new elements, as far as the West is concerned, in its description of the scene which concerns us. This is the *Pèlerinage de Jésus-Christ*, by Guillaume de Deguileville, one of a number of “pilgrimages” put into verse form in the fourteenth century; the one in question was composed around the middle of the century. In this narrative life of Christ, written with emphasis upon his status as a pilgrim through life, a lengthy description of the meeting of Christ and the Virgin is inserted into the

47. *Revelationes*, II, Rome, 1628, p. 164. Cf. King, *op.cit.*, 1519, fol. 236. pp. 295f.

48. Ludolphus Saxoniae, *Vita Jesu Christi*, II, 70, Lyons, Ludolf refers.

49. It would be interesting to know to what specific legend

Resurrection narrative, but placed after the episode of the supper at Emmaus, although referring specifically to the first moments of Easter morning.⁵⁰ This passage is remarkable in that it resembles, in some aspects, the version of the episode which we last encountered in the text of George of Nicomedia: the Virgin's vigil by the sepulcher from Friday until Sunday morning, followed by a vision of angels, and of the glories of the Resurrection itself; then, while the holy women visit the now empty tomb, Christ himself appears in triumph before his mother, and two hold converse rather in the manner of Ludolf's or Pseudo-Bonaventura's narratives. The "Pèlerinage" thus seems to embody a conflation of the two types of account with which we have dealt thus far; the interesting thing is that, as we shall see below, when the "Pèlerinage" came to be illustrated, although its miniatures apparently were specially adapted to its content, there are no known illustrations of the more visionary or apocalyptic sections of the text.

Whatever the process of transmission may have been by which the early Syrian legend found its way, in greatly amplified form, into the popular literature of Western Europe of the late Gothic period, it should be clear now that we deal in the later Middle Ages not with original inventions produced *ex nihilo* by authors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but with these authors' codification and amplification of a body of legend present, although uncommonly, in the written tradition of the Church, and thus most probably in the wider oral tradition of the laity, throughout most of the entire Christian era. Its acceptance into semi-ecclesiastical literature, and thence into art, may therefore be seen as one of the numerous results of the contemporary efforts of the clergy to "popularize" their religion, its mysteries, and the personalities of its principal figures.

III

The earliest examples of the scenes of Christ's Appearance to his mother in the figurative arts date from the first half of the fourteenth century; interestingly enough, the three instances of its occurrence anterior to 1350 are from two wholly different parts of Europe, and betray a totally different character, stylistically as well as iconographically.

The first appearance of our scene seems to be in the *Passionale Kunigundae*, a manuscript begun in 1312 by the Canon Benesius for the daughter of King Ottokar of Bohemia; Kunigunde was Abbess of the Monastery of St. George on the Hradschin, where the manuscript was preserved.⁵¹ The miniature in question shows Christ, bearing the wounds of the cross, embracing his mother as Pseudo-Bonaventura describes; despite a marked sense of plasticity in the delineation of the figures themselves, the miniature as a whole is unmistakably Germanic in its linear strength, and in the sense it gives of almost frenetic passion: in the intense embrace of the two figures at the first moment of joyful recognition, the artist captures exactly one aspect of the *Mirror's* narrative. In other respects, however, the artist is not so faithful to what we presume to have been his sources, since the setting is not indoors, but on a roughly indicated scrap of rocky soil, where the figures stand instead of kneel—an indication, perhaps, that the artist retained an awareness that the other appearances to the holy women took place out of doors.

This scheme of organization of the subject, fundamentally a new invention, does not seem to have been copied immediately; instead, as we shall see below, it reappeared a century later in German popular art, in the woodcuts that circulated so widely in the fifteenth century (cf. Fig. 12).

No more characteristic differentiation of the styles of the North and the South of Europe could be made than in comparing the *Passionale* miniature with another early occurrence of our subject, in the frescoes of the Church of Sta. Maria Donnaregina near Naples, executed by a painter

50. *Le Pèlerinage Jhésucrist de Guillaume de Deguileville*, London, The Roxburghe Club, 1897, pp. 318-327.

51. F. Burger, *Die deutsche Malerei vom ausgehenden Mit-*

telalter bis zum Ende der Renaissance, 1, Berlin, 1913, pp. 159f. and fig. 180, as the "Noli me tangere."

of the school of Cavallini about 1320-1330.⁵² Here we have little passion, no frenzy, but rather a sober delineation of the encounter of two persons, taking place in the prescribed interior setting. Opposite a representation of the "Noli me tangere" meeting with the Magdalene, we see Christ facing his mother, who looks at him over a low barrier or wall. The artist has chosen, with characteristic Mediterranean classicism, not the moment of passionate embrace which appealed to the Germanic artist, but the poised instant of first recognition, the moment before words are uttered, before any movement takes place. Action (as well as emotion) is potential in the Italian picture, rather than realized as the German artist expressed it.

Closely related is a third illustration of this scene, Florentine in origin and closely contemporary to the Naples fresco: it is one of the subordinate border miniatures on a sheet of the *Resurrection* now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Fig. 2),⁵³ attributed by Offner to the school of Pacino da Bonaguida,⁵⁴ an artist whom the same scholar believes to have received some of his training in Rome, that is to say, in the environment of Cavallini.⁵⁵ In this miniature, the poses of Christ and his mother resemble those at Sta. Maria Donnaregina, but they meet before a hanging drapery, an indication of the indoor setting, with no barrier to separate them.

Thus there would seem to have been established early in the fourteenth century two iconographies of this scene—one Nordic, emotional, interpretive more of the content of the episode than of its external detail; the other Latin, serene, and yet by and large more literal in its transcription of the externals of the scene Pseudo-Bonaventura described.

It would be of great importance if we were able to establish some iconographic prototype for either of these types of illustration. In many cases of iconographic research, where an illustration is linked to a specific text or group of texts, a manuscript tradition can be established which is the vehicle of transmission of a standard iconography to other, less viable media; so it might be in this case, but our evidence is insufficient for absolute proof.

Although illustrated manuscripts of both Pseudo-Bonaventura's *Mirror* and Deguileville's *Pèlerinage* have survived, they are unfortunately too late in date to provide evidence for the existence of a manuscript tradition for this scene at the time of its earliest appearance in other contexts. We are particularly unlucky in that the earliest extant illuminated manuscript of Pseudo-Bonaventura, a copiously illustrated one that is probably Sienese and dated to about 1360, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris,⁵⁶ is incomplete, and lacks the final pages in which our text was contained. As a result, although the state of the manuscript indicates that it was copying a model which had a very full series of illustrations, we have no way of ascertaining whether or not our particular scene was illustrated, and if it was, what its iconographic scheme might have been.

The only illustrated manuscript of Pseudo-Bonaventura in which our scene does occur is a considerably later one, a provincial French manuscript of about 1422 now in the British Museum.⁵⁷ In this manuscript, Meiss has noted⁵⁸ that the miniatures show a good deal of divergence from the text, which is not the case in the Paris manuscript. While actual disparity with the text is not evident in the miniature of our particular episode, it is unique among our examples in combining two representations of Christ within one frame: one of him showing his wounds, and holding his cloak open wide, as he stands facing the kneeling, praying Virgin; and the other of him looking back over his shoulder as he strides out of a door to the left, carrying a cross on the same shoulder

52. G. Chierici, *Il restauro della Chiesa di S. Maria Donnaregina a Napoli*, Naples, 1934, pl. xxxv.

53. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam MS 194 (M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge, 1895, p. 159).

54. R. Offner, *Corpus of Florentine Painting* III:II, Part I, N.Y., 1930, p. 26 and pl. x.

55. *Studies in Florentine Painting*, N.Y., 1927, p. 17.

56. Bib. Nat. MS ital. 115; I owe my information on this

manuscript to Dr. Rosalie B. Green, Director of the Princeton Index of Christian Art, who has been most helpful in many phases of research on this subject.

57. MS Roy. 20 B IV, fol. 141 (cf. Sir George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, II: *Royal Manuscripts*, London, British Museum, 1921, pp. 360f).

58. In a communication to the Index of Christian Art.

(Fig. 3). The setting, a small, vaulted room with mullioned window, conforms with the text's requirements; it is quite possible that we are here dealing with a conflation of two consecutive miniatures covering this episode in the text.

Comparable density of illustration may be seen in two fifteenth century French manuscripts of Deguileville: the first, dating early in the century, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale,⁵⁹ and contains not one but two miniatures portraying slightly different moments in the scene of the meeting (Figs. 4, 5); while the other, from the workshop of the Rohan Master, and datable to ca. 1420-1430,⁶⁰ shows still a third pose of Christ and the Virgin (Fig. 6).⁶¹ In all three of these miniatures although the special requirements of Deguileville's text are followed in such respects as Christ's pilgrim costume, setting, etc., there is nothing so individual about the formal arrangement of the figures as to indicate a particular iconographic tradition inherent in this specific text and its recensions; nor, as we have already remarked, are the truly original features of Deguileville's text illustrated at all.

As regards Ludolf's *Vita Christi*, we have no manuscript illuminations whatsoever, to my knowledge, and only a woodcut in a printed edition of the text, published at Antwerp in 1487;⁶² iconographically as well as stylistically the woodcut of *Christ's Appearance to the Virgin* would seem to reflect popular Flemish art of the period, as do the other woodcuts in the book,⁶³ rather than any internal iconographic tradition derived from the text itself. Certain of its details, however, while not uncommon in other pictures of the later fifteenth century, can be traced as far back as a miniature in a French Book of Hours in the Walters Art Gallery, dated to about 1425 (Fig. 7);⁶⁴ its architectural setting, utilizing the outdoor view beyond the portico in which the Virgin prays, conforms to Ludolf's narrative flow which emphasizes Christ's direct arrival from Purgatory to greet the Virgin. In addition, the *contrapposto* of the Virgin's pose, kneeling with back turned to Christ, and turning only her head and shoulders as she perceives his presence, so evident in the woodcut, seems to occur earliest in this miniature.

If we return, however, to the earliest examples of the scene of Christ's appearance, in the fourteenth century we find a consistency in iconography among a group of works which strongly suggests the interpretation that an established tradition existed for the representation of this scene; and, if this was so, we find a strong suggestion that its point of origin was in Italy. While such a hypothesis remains conjectural in the extreme, such a source for this iconography as the presumed model for the Paris *Mirror* would not be unlikely.

After the first three, our next earliest example is found not in Italy at all, but in Catalonia, in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, in a vignette of a polyptych in the Morgan Library attributed by Meiss to the Master of St. Mark (Fig. 8):⁶⁵ but it is significant that, as Meiss's own work indicates, this was a product of a phase of Catalan art characterized as a province of the Tuscan, so that we might well consider this instance of our scene as virtually an Italian product—especially in view of the extreme rarity of this iconographic type in Spain. The picture in question portrays Christ's appearance, in an interior architectural setting, as he stands blessing with his left (!) hand, grasping the staff of the cross with his right; the Virgin kneels on the left, facing

59. Bib. Nat. ms fr. 9196. This manuscript was brought to my attention by Prof. Meiss. Both miniatures are on fol. 203v.

60. Cf. J. Porcher, "The Models for the 'Heures de Rohan,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* VIII, pp. 1-6.

61. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam ms 62, fol. 62b (James, *op.cit.*, p. 159).

62. *Tboek vanden Leven Ons Heeren Jesu Christi* (Geeraert Leeu, Antwerp, 1487): reproduced in *Uitgave van de Vereeniging der Antwerpsche Bibliophielen*, Reeks 2, no. 3 (ed. L. Indestege), Antwerp, 1952, illus. no. 121. The first printed

edition of Ludolf's work appeared at Cologne as early as 1472.

63. The woodcuts are the work of several different hands, perhaps not all executed for this specific publication. The editor attributes no. 121 to the so-called "Haarlem Master."

64. MS W 289, fol. 34. This miniature was brought to my attention by Miss Dorothy Miner.

65. M. Meiss, "Italian Style in Catalonia and a Fourteenth Century Catalan Workshop," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, IV, 1941, pp. 45-87.

him with hands clasped before her. In point of fact, this picture is, in the poses of the principals, almost an exact mirror image of the miniature from the shop of Pacino da Bonaguida of Florence.

Virtually identical poses are to be noticed again in an Artois manuscript, dating about 1390, which marks the first occurrence of the scene in the Low Countries (Fig. 9).⁶⁶ In the same tradition, but beginning to show traces of variation, is another Florentine miniature, dating from about 1400 and the work of the school of Spinello Aretino.⁶⁷ No setting is indicated, but the Virgin kneels close enough to her Son to appear to kiss his wounded side, while the latter, passing his right arm about her shoulders, bears with his left the triumphal banner of the Resurrection. The poses are not too dissimilar from those of the other works we have just examined, but increased emphasis is here being placed on the significance of Christ's wounds.⁶⁸ The basic grouping of the figures of Christ and his mother, however, seems to be characteristic of all these examples from the second half of the fourteenth century; if any sort of manuscript tradition existed for the illustration of this episode, this, in its general outlines, must have been it.

IV

If the subject of Christ's Appearance to his Mother had become, by 1400, familiar all the way from Italy to the Low Countries, there was at least one country where it had not been acclimated—where, in fact, it seems to have been consciously rejected, in the form we have examined, in favor of another type of scene. This country was Spain, and more specifically Catalonia where, after a solitary appearance in the Morgan polyptych (accepting, as we do, Meiss's attribution to a Catalan atelier), the scene derived from Pseudo-Bonaventura drops out of sight. In its place there was invented an iconographic novelty seemingly peculiar to Spain, which seems to have nothing to do with the Pseudo-Bonaventura's text, or with any other late mediaeval source of which we are aware. This consists in the introduction, into a conventional picture of the Resurrection, of the figure of the Virgin Mary, looking on through the window or doorway of a house adjoining the garden. This novel iconography seems to have begun as the personal idiosyncrasy of one painting family, that of the brothers Serra, who dominated the generation that made Catalan art something more than just a province of Tuscan painting: their choice of this novelty might even seem symptomatic of that declaration of independence. The subject remained more or less specifically Catalan throughout the century or so during which it remained popular.

In establishing a date for the introduction of this novelty, we have what would appear to be a convincing *terminus post quem* in one of the earliest works of either brother, the retable of Fray Martin de Alpartil in Saragossa, which can be identified as the work of Jaime Serra and dated to 1361.⁶⁹ In this altarpiece we find that the panel showing the Resurrection is of conventional Spanish mediaeval type, with the figure of Christ shown rising from the open tomb in the presence only of the sleeping soldiers. This is the only such “normal” Resurrection scene painted by either brother; on what is apparently the next occasion when Jaime portrayed the event, in the Sijena Retable,⁷⁰ he inserted a bust figure of the Virgin, looking on through a window in the garden wall. Once established, the type was used several times by one or the other of the Serra brothers:

66. Brussels, Bibl. Roy., MS II, 7831 (ex-Coll. Colbert de Beaulieu); first published by L. Mourin, *Scriptorium*, I, 1946-1947, pp. 75ff.; cf. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, I, p. 263.

67. Chantilly, Musée Condé: Photo Giraudon 7389. Cited by Meiss, *op.cit.*, p. 66 n. 44.

68. Remarkd by Panofsky, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 263f., as of increasing importance from the start of the fifteenth century.

Meiss, *loc.cit.*, also cites a Tuscan panel in a Paris private collection which is of about the same date, and has this subject; but neither the panel, nor a photograph of it, can now be located.

69. C. R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, II, Cambridge, 1930, p. 225, fig. 149.

70. *ibid.*, II, p. 237, fig. 153. It is tempting to enlarge upon the superficial resemblance between this scene and that at S. Maria Donnadregina; but it must be remembered that in the latter case we deal with a separate scene of the meeting, taking place over a low wall or barrier; this is fundamentally different from Serra's concept of a Resurrection scene in which the Virgin appears as a witness, with no communication taking place between the two principals. If there is any slight relationship between the two iconographies, it is not susceptible of proof with the evidence now at hand.

in the Manresa Retable by Pedro, datable to 1393-1394,⁷¹ and in the Abella de la Conca Retable, of about the same date, which is probably by Jaime;⁷² and in a contemporary panel which may be a collaborative work.⁷³ It was followed by other artists of their school, such as Domingo Valls⁷⁴ and the Cubells Master,⁷⁵ both of whom were active toward the close of the fourteenth century; and it survived in Catalonia as late as 1457, when Jaime Ferrer included the figure of the Virgin Mary in a panel of the Resurrection he painted for the Retable of the Iglesia de la Sangre at Alcover.⁷⁶ At about the same time, it appears in a panel by the Bacri Master, one of a group of Aragonese painters identified by Post as being strongly under Catalan influence as then manifested by the style of Huguet.⁷⁷

This introduction of the Virgin Mary into the scene of the Resurrection is, as we have seen, in no way derived from the legends of Pseudo-Bonaventura, or of Ludolf of Saxony (who was far more widely known in Spain at this period); it seems to hark back rather to those apocryphal Coptic and Syrian Resurrection scenes, and has actually been considered to be a direct product of Spanish familiarity with the Greek texts of such writers as George of Nicomedia.⁷⁸ There is, on the other hand, the evidence of contemporary texts such as Deguileville (composed in the vernacular French rather than in Latin, and consequently not apt to be circulating internationally at this early a date; we do not suggest that this specific text was influential in Catalonia) that the idea of the Virgin's having been a witness of the Resurrection itself, as distinct from the legend of Christ's appearance to her, was not unfamiliar elsewhere in Western Europe as well as in Spain. With the constant interchange of texts and legends begun by the Crusades, it is all but impossible to hope to unravel, in a case of this type, the precise derivations of a given iconographic type.

Whatever the motivation may have been for the Serras' novelty, the fact remains that the "traditional" iconography of Christ's appearance, based as it is more or less directly upon that of the "Noli me tangere," never established any firm foothold on the Iberian peninsula; when, late in the fifteenth century, strong Flemish influence reintroduced it to Spain, it was soon replaced again by another, and equally novel, Spanish invention.

V

Such was the situation, iconographically speaking, at the time that Roger van der Weyden created his version of our scene. There was in existence a widely distributed iconography, based in a general way upon that of the "Noli me tangere," and quite probably Italian in origin, which had reached Flanders towards 1400; while another type, limited to Spain but quite popular there, simply made of the Virgin a witness at the scene of the Resurrection. Our only document for the penetration of the "Italian" type into the Low Countries prior to 1400 is the Artois manuscript "Ci Nous Dist," a vernacular compilation of narrative passages which we have already noticed, containing a miniature of Christ and the Virgin (Fig. 9) at the head of a passage repeating the story of the Appearance in simplified terms, with stress upon the symbolism of light as it is used in the whole of the Easter story. The two figures in the miniature have the poses we have noted in the Florentine miniature, Fitzwilliam 194 (Fig. 2), as well as in the panel by the Master of St. Mark (Fig. 8): The Virgin kneels indoors, hands uplifted in prayer, before the standing Christ, who blesses her with his right hand, and clasps his mantle with his left; Panofsky has

71. G. Richert, *Mittelalterliche Malerei in Spanien, katalanische Wand- und Tafelmalerei*, Berlin, 1925, fig. 39.

72. S. Sanpere y Miquel and J. Gudiol, *Els trescentistes*, II, Barcelona 1922, p. 45, fig. 15.

73. In the Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris: Post, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 280-282, fig. 172.

74. A panel in the Muntadas Coll., Barcelona (*ibid.*, IV, 2, 1933, p. 601).

75. Two panels in Barcelona private colls. (*ibid.*, VIII, 2,

1941, p. 580, fig. 271 n. 1). Cf. Saralegui, *Museum*, VII, 1933, pp. 287-289; Photos Mas 11980C-11984C.

76. Post, *op.cit.*, VII, 2, 1938, pp. 527-530, fig. 194.

77. Paris, at Bacri Frères (*ibid.*, VIII, 1, p. 32, fig. 12). In this case, however, the Virgin witnesses the scene through a doorway, rather than through the window as in the classic Catalan iconography.

78. Cf. G. G. King, *op.cit.*, p. 298, and her opinion as cited by Post, *op.cit.*, IV, 2, p. 601 n. 2.

already noted the slight recoil of the figure of Christ, a detail recalling specifically the older theme of the “Noli me tangere.”

These are the same poses used by Roger, except that Christ's left hand, instead of holding his mantle in place, is raised parallel with his right (Fig. 10);⁷⁹ the Virgin's pose is closely similar to that of her prototype, although her body is partially turned in *contrapposto*, a more complex organization (and at the same time one even more consonant with the original description of Pseudo-Bonaventura) than that attempted in the tiny miniatures which were presumably Roger's iconographic guides. That he knew any of the surviving representations of this scene is of course both undemonstrable and highly improbable; but his painting corresponds too closely to their common characteristics for the resemblance to be only fortuitous. They must represent the type of illustration he used as his model.

Roger's panel is the right wing of an altarpiece of the Virgin which was executed for Juan II of Castile, most probably just before or after 1438. The left panel shows the *Adoration of the Infant Christ*, while the central one portrays his *Lamentation*; each of the scenes is enclosed by a Gothic arch in grisaille representing the sculptured stone of a church portal. Since Panofsky's analysis of this altarpiece has elucidated its meaning both as a whole and in its details,⁸⁰ we shall only summarize his points about our own panel as they affect the subject under examination.

The resurrected Christ is seen at the moment that he confronts his mother; as he approaches from the spectator's left, clad in a red mantle, he draws back at the last instant with that same gesture of recoil which we have noted derives originally from the “Noli me tangere.” Mary herself, who wears a blue robe with its hem embroidered (as in the other panels) with the words of the Magnificat, turns from her reading to behold him; she is still seated, surprised and, as yet, still sorrowing; her gesture is an instant past that of prayer seen in earlier representations such as that of the “Ci Nous Dist” manuscript, and suggests that surprise and the joy of recognition are just dawning upon her.

The setting is a vaulted Gothic chamber, beyond the open doors of which is visible a landscape where the Resurrection itself is taking place: Christ rises from the tomb in the act of benediction, but is seen only by a single angel, while the three soldier-guardians sleep, and the three women, approaching in the distance, are yet too far removed to witness the momentous scene.

The vousoirs of the framing arch contain figured scenes, counterfeiting sculpture, which when linked with the principal subject, form a connected narrative of the Life of the Virgin. Below the arch, on colonnette pedestals, are the figures of SS. Mark and Paul with their attributes; while within the actual chamber where the Appearance is taking place, two of the four column capitals supporting the vaulted roof are decorated with Old Testament scenes which, according to the *Speculum humanae Salvationis*, prefigured the events of Christ's Resurrection.⁸¹ At the crown of the framing arch an angel holds a crown and a scroll which, as in the other panels of the triptych, makes explicit the importance of the Virgin's role in the Act of Redemption.⁸²

79. The fact that this function is performed instead, and most awkwardly, by Christ's right forearm, has become the crux of the controversy over the date of the Granada Altarpiece, for which cf. Panofsky, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 263f. For our purposes, a date ca. 1438 is satisfactory enough; the problem of priority in date between this painting and the Werl Altarpiece of the Master of Flémalle does not concern us in this context.

80. *Op.cit.*, I, pp. 259-264, 460-464.

81. David's defeat of Goliath prefigures Christ's conquest of Satan's temptations: *Speculum humanae Salvationis*, XIII, 73-82 (ed. J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, Leipzig, 1907, p. 29 and pls. 25-26); Samson's victory over the lion forecasts Christ's overpowering of the princes of darkness: *ibid.*, XXIX, 49-66 (Lutz and Perdrizet, pp. 60f.; pls. 57-58; Wehle and Salinger, *op.ci.*,

p. 32, mistakenly identify this scene as Daniel's experience with the same animal, an error corrected by Panofsky, *op.cit.*, I, p. 463 n. 2638); and Samson's carrying off the Gates of Gaza prefigures the Resurrection itself: *Speculum humanae Salvationis*, XXXII, 37-50 (Lutz and Perdrizet, p. 66 and pls. 63-64).

82. Panofsky, *op.cit.*, I, p. 461 n. 260¹, gives the text as read from the Berlin-Miraflores triptych, and indicates that Wehle and Salinger's reading, *loc.cit.*, is in error. While certain misreadings in the latter's text are evident upon rechecking the panel in the Metropolitan Museum, which Miss Salinger very kindly did with the writer, it is still difficult to reconcile the whole text as inscribed there with that given by Panofsky. Had the Granada panels not been mutilated at the tops, it would be possible to compare all three text passages on the

The altarpiece as a whole, as Panofsky shows, was arranged to portray a connected sequence of episodes from the Life of the Virgin, with three of these episodes singled out for emphasis as *foci* of the three panels; these three, moreover, have been chosen to stress the Virgin's relation to Christ. The rarity of the scene of Christ's appearance prior to Roger's choosing it for this altarpiece gives rise to some speculation as to why it was picked on this occasion; our only clue seems to lie in the fact that the altarpiece was a Spanish commission, and we have some evidence, as adduced herewith, that in fifteenth century Spain the subject of the Virgin's participation in the events of the Resurrection seems to have been particularly current. It is also conceivable that Roger combined the Resurrection scene with that of the Appearance because of an awareness of the Catalan Resurrection iconography we examined in the last section. Once again, we are in the realm of hypothesis; but it would seem worth considering that the program of this triptych might have been laid out with Roger's Spanish patron in mind—or even planned in Spain and dictated to the artist. While this cannot be more than speculative, we can be quite sure that Roger's composition, once created, had a tremendous effect on iconography. This was, in the event, far more true in Flanders, and in the North in general, than in Spain, despite the presence of both versions of Roger's original painting there by 1445.

In Flanders, it is obvious that a model or sketch was retained by Roger's studio, to judge from the frequency of more or less close variants of the original treatment which were produced during the second half of the fifteenth century and later. A quite close copy, by an unidentified follower, is in the London National Gallery,⁸³ while two examples of a variant type are in American museums,⁸⁴ differing most obviously in the reorganization of the picture space into a diagonal, reducing the view of the outdoor landscape and omitting the Resurrection, but also in giving Christ the cross banner of the Resurrection to hold, and placing an open book beside the Virgin, a detail which seems to appear earliest in the Walters Book of Hours (Fig. 7). In freer versions, Christ's Appearance was used either as a single subject⁸⁵ or as an element of a larger composition⁸⁶ by a number of Northern painters and sculptors (Fig. 11)⁸⁷ through the end of the century. The steeply diagonal composition used for the scene by some of Roger's followers is also to be seen in a sixteenth century triptych wing attributed to the French school.⁸⁸

It would have been remarkable if Roger's altarpieces had left no trace whatsoever in Spain; its effect was in fact felt among the Spanish painters most influenced by Flemish art during the latter part of the fifteenth century, but the subject was never popular in Spain. Aside from a few minor instances around the turn of the century,⁸⁹ it occurs as one of the forty-odd panels of the great Retablo de la Reina Catolica, the altarpiece executed between 1496 and 1504 by a group

two triptychs, and determine whether or not minor variations occur elsewhere; but as this is not possible, we are left only with the discrepancies between the two readings, particularly over the word read by Panofsky as "*perseveravit*" and by Wehle & Salinger as "*pleveravit*."

83. M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues, Early Netherlandish School*, London, 1945, pp. 115f., no. 1086; perhaps the right wing of a triptych.

84. Washington, National Gallery of Art, Mellon Coll. no. 45, ascribed to Roger van der Weyden (M. J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, II, Leiden, 1934, p. 105, no. 41; attributed by C. de Tolnay, "Flemish Paintings in the National Gallery of Art," *Magazine of Art*, XXXIV, 1941, pp. 184-186 and fig. 14, to Vrancke van der Stockt). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, by the Master of the St. Ursula Legend (Wehle and Salinger, *op.cit.*, pp. 76f.).

85. Examples from the Ehninger Altarpiece, by the Ulm Master, copying Dirck Bouts (W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin, 1938, p. 176, no. 62, pl. 74a); a panel by Albert Bouts (Friedländer, *op.cit.*, III, p. 116, no. 55; Harry G. Sperling, *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Flemish Primitives*, N.Y., F. Kleinberger Galleries, 1929, pp. 134f.,

no. 43, incorrectly identified as the "Noli me tangere"); by the Frankfurt Master (Friedländer, *op.cit.*, VII, p. 141, no. 145); by Jan Provost (*ibid.*, IX, p. 145, no. 127); by "Jan de Cock" (*ibid.*, XIV, p. 124); etc.

86. Hans Memling includes this as a scene in his great altarpiece of the "Seven Joys of Mary," executed in 1480 for Pieter Bultinc of Bruges (Karl Voll, *Memling*, Stuttgart, 1909, pp. 32f.; 38).

87. Veit Stoss includes the scene (see Fig. 11) in the Altar of the Virgin in the Nonnberg Abbey at Salzburg, executed in 1498 (Heinrich Decker, *Der salzburger Flügelaltar des Veit Stoss*, Salzburg, 1950, pp. 17, 34, fig. 2, and p. 54, fig. 22).

88. Photo in the Frick Art Reference Library, no. 503-28a; whereabouts unknown, but thought to have been on the Florence art market.

89. A panel by the Palanquinos Master, in the Torbado Coll., Leon (Post, *op.cit.* IV, 1, pp. 172-174, and VI, 2, 1935, pp. 624-627 and fig. 277); and a panel in the Chapel of the Reyes Viejos at the Cathedral of Toledo, by "Santa Cruz," an artist strongly Flemish in character: this scene flanks the Resurrection, with the "Noli me tangere" opposite (*ibid.*, IX, 1, 1947, pp. 239-243).

of artists working under the direction of Juan de Flandes for Isabella of Castile.⁹⁰ The panel in question is attributed to one of the shop assistants, and shows Christ speaking to the Virgin, who kneels in an open portico—his words are indicated, and they are exactly those recorded by Pseudo-Bonaventura in his description of the scene.⁹¹

Derived though these panels are from Roger's general iconographic type, they exhibit in common a number of minor variations which suggest that a local tradition was in existence. Characteristics of this type include the presence of angels as witnesses of the scene,⁹² and a tendency to place the episode not indoors, but on a loggia or portico, half indoors and half out, with Christ sometimes still out in the open air. This same type of setting is to be seen in the woodcut which, as we noticed earlier, was used to illustrate the Antwerp edition of Ludolf's *Vita Christi* in 1487, and in the much earlier Walters Book of Hours (Fig. 7).

A later Spanish example of our iconography, a triptych wing in the Museo Provincial at Segovia which is attributed to Luis de Morales and dates from the middle of the sixteenth century,⁹³ returns to the indoor setting, and raises another point of iconographic detail which, as we shall see, had already been introduced as a variant type elsewhere in Europe some decades earlier: the Virgin kneels, Christ blesses, but now she faces him, leaning on her *prie-dieu*, which separates them one from the other. The same organization, returned to the portico setting, is used by the Italian Bernardino Loschi in a fresco painted in the chapel of the Castello dei Pio at Carpi, early in the same century: Christ once more stands outside, the Virgin inside the arcaded loggia, while angels hover overhead.⁹⁴ But even here, we are not at the root of our type; instead, we must turn to one area we have virtually neglected in our survey of this iconography, Germany.

Aside from the Rhenish area which was artistically a province of Flanders in the fifteenth century, we have not noticed any instances of the occurrence of our subject in German territory since the *Passionale Kunigundae* early in the fourteenth century. It did not in fact appear in productions of any scale, so far as we can determine, until late in the fifteenth century; but this is not to say that it was unknown. Quite the contrary; the evidence of a large number of German woodcuts both published⁹⁵ and unpublished⁹⁶ shows that this subject must have been a popular one with the public in the fifteenth century, for the woodcut was above all the vehicle of popular iconography in that period. Following no rigid iconographic type, these woodcuts display a certain degree of freedom in the way they represent the scene of Christ's Appearance to his mother; but most of them can be seen to adhere to the characteristic type established by the manuscript tradition we believe to have served as model for Roger's painting: Christ standing blessing his mother, while the latter kneels, turning toward him from the *prie-dieu* at which, very often, she has been kneeling; one feature, found in the works of Roger's followers, is the banner of the cross which Christ almost invariably bears in his left hand in these German woodcuts.

Another type exists, however, which is distinct from these, and of great interest in that it demonstrates the preservation of the old iconography of the *Passionale Kunigundae* in this popular art stream: a woodcut in Munich, dated to the second quarter of the fifteenth century, shows Christ and his mother embracing in the same way as in the miniature, although with more tenderness and less passion; they stand on the same simple piece of terrain, and are watched by

90. F. Sanchez Canton, "El retablo de la Reina Catolica," *Archivo español de arte y arqueologia*, VI, 1930, pp. 97-133.

91. *Ibid.*, pp. 129-130, pl. XIX; the panel is now in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

92. Angels are also present in the version by Albert Bouts cited above, note 85.

93. Photo in the F.A.R.L., no. 803-18a.

94. F.A.R.L. Photo, no. 712 C 22 C 27caa Part v. In another Italian work of the early sixteenth century, Christ faces the kneeling Virgin; the setting is an interior, with an altar in the background: this is a miniature from the Resurrection

page, fol. 271r of the Missal-Breviary of Ferdinand the Catholic, Vatican, Chigi c VII, included in the exhibition *Miniatures of the Renaissance*, Vatican, 1950, no. 108, pp. 63f., pl. xx.

95. For example, cf. W. L. Schreiber, *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des XV. Jahrhunderts*, I, Leipzig, 1926, pp. 223f., nos. 700-704, as well as V, 1928, p. 77, no. 2382.

96. The Schreiber Coll. in the Library of Congress and the print department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art alone have yielded seven unpublished examples of the theme.

two hovering angels (Fig. 12).⁹⁷ A similar scene of the embrace of Christ and his mother, but in an interior setting, is found in a woodcut published in Venice in 1521, in which Christ holds the triumphal banner in his right hand while bending to embrace the Virgin;⁹⁸ and in an abbreviated form, with only the busts of the embracing figures shown, it occurs in a sixteenth century French "golden" manuscript in the Library at Parma.⁹⁹

That the use of this subject was prevalent in fifteenth century Germany is at least established by this enumeration of examples; and, as such, it is more or less inevitable that it should have been employed by Germany's most influential artist, Albrecht Dürer: such was in fact the case. Dürer included the episode of Christ's Appearance to the Virgin in his *Small Passion*, executed between 1509 and 1511;¹⁰⁰ his treatment is based in a general way on the Flemish tradition established by Roger, but it emphasizes the triumphal aspect of the scene in Christ's bearing and appurtenances, including the banner, while the prayerful attitude of the Virgin is also stressed by having her still kneeling at her *prie-dieu*, now placed between the two figures. Here, obviously, we are dealing with the iconographic tradition as noted in the sixteenth century paintings of Morales and Loschi, in which the kneeling Virgin, instead of turning to face her Son, kneels already facing him, with the *prie-dieu* between them. The influence of Dürer's version of the scene was as widespread as Roger's, to judge by the cited instances of its reflection,¹⁰¹ as well as its employment by two sculptors of Troyes, Thomas and Jacques Guyon, who used its composition in designing the wooden *jubé* of the church at Villemaur, dated to 1521.¹⁰²

Dürer does not appear, however, to have originated this iconographic variant, but rather to have been its popularizer; two German works of the late fifteenth century, a woodcut in Berlin¹⁰³ and a painting sold at Cologne in 1905,¹⁰⁴ as well as Hans Wechtlin's woodcut for a *Life of Christ* published at Strasbourg in 1508,¹⁰⁵ all show the same elements of facing participants, *prie-dieu*, cross banner, and in the first two cases even the baldachin, as in Dürer's woodcut. They almost certainly represent the pictorial tradition which Dürer followed in creating his own representation of the Appearance, a representation which was influential because of its inherent beauty rather than because of any great originality of content.

VI

Another iconographic variant of our theme of Christ Appearing to the Virgin exists, which, because of its derivation, is somewhat further afield than the ones we have studied heretofore. It is a type which shows little internal consistency between the various examples we can adduce; what they have in common is not at all a similarity of pictorial composition, but rather a parallelism of approach to the iconography. This iconographic type is based upon the composition of the Annunciation, thus emphasizing the parallelism between the heralding of the Incarnation by the

97. Schreiber's no. 700, *op.cit.*, I, p. 223. The woodcut has in the corners of its frame the arms of Bavaria, the Palatinate, Austria, and Bavaria and Austria quartered.

98. L. C., Schreiber Coll. It is one of a very full cycle of 155 woodcuts illustrating a book entitled *Rosario della gloriosa Vergine Maria*.

99. Parma, Bib. Pal. ms pal. 169, fol. 86v (D. Fava, *Tesori delle biblioteche d'Italia, Emilia e Romagna*, Milan, 1932, p. 211, fig. 93). This is not, however, the Hours of Henry II, as stated by Panofsky, *op.cit.*, I, p. 463 n. 263.²

100. V. Scherer, *Dürer*, Stuttgart, 1908, p. 244 (Bartsch 46).

101. It was of course copied almost directly for other woodcuts, as in the case of an unpublished German woodcut in the Schreiber Coll. in the Library of Congress.

102. R. Koechlin and J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *La Sculpture à Troyes et dans la Champagne méridionale au seizième siècle*,

Paris, 1900, p. 142 and fig. 57. Troyenne artists seem to have adopted the subject, for it appears again in freer iconographic variations in a later work of the school of Juliot, *ibid.*, p. 254 and fig. 83, in the church at Vallant-St.-Georges, as well as in a stone relief now in the Louvre (M. Aubert, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art: Sculpture du Moyen Age*, Paris, n.d., no. 166). Koechlin and Marquet de Vasselot, *op.cit.*, p. 254, also cite an engraving from Troyes showing this subject.

103. Schreiber, *op.cit.*, I, p. 224, no. 702.

104. Litzinger et al. Sale, Heberle Gallery, Cologne, 1 Apr., 1905, no. 28, as South German School, 15th century. The writer would be inclined, however, to date this picture in the 16th century, after Dürer's print was in circulation; but this does not affect the validity of the fact that the motif was known before Dürer.

105. Passavant, no. 46.

Archangel, and Christ's own announcement, to his mother, of the fulfillment of that Incarnation, that is, the Resurrection.¹⁰⁶

We might not suspect the relation to the Annunciation of a Flemish miniature, dated to about 1500, in which Christ as the Man of Sorrows approaches his kneeling mother, who still has her back turned to him (Fig. 13).¹⁰⁷ The composition is not at variance in any important way with that seen in a number of the works already examined, especially among the German woodcuts where the *Schmerzensmann* element is occasionally present; but the Virgin's lack of awareness of the event about to occur is quite exceptional. The key to the character of this miniature is found in the text which it heads: it is a passage based directly on St. Luke's narrative of the Annunciation, and does not refer to the Appearance of Christ at all.

Compositionally quite different, but based on the same parallelism of themes, is a panel painted by the Valencian artist Fernando Yanez, a pupil of Leonardo da Vinci, who gave to his painting of Christ's Appearance the same composition he had used for an Annunciation.¹⁰⁸

Just as clearly linked with another iconography of the Annunciation is an amusing panel in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, by the hand of one of the Antwerp Mannerists active about 1520 who were once lumped together under the generic name of Herri met de Bles.¹⁰⁹ The whole scheme of this painting is that of an Annunciation, with Christ as Triumphator occupying the position, and the flying attitude, of Gabriel (Fig. 14). Not only that, but the peculiar arched stair leading to the Virgin's bedchamber is obviously copied from Dürer's woodcut of the Annunciation itself!¹¹⁰ Even the attitude of the Virgin, as in the case of our two previous examples, is far more appropriate to the humility associated with the Annunciation, than to the surprise and/or joy that customarily is expressed in representations of the Appearance after the Resurrection.

A comparable “levitated” attitude of Christ suggests that the Annunciation iconography had something to do with the composition of an engraving of the Appearance of Christ done about 1593 by Jerome Wierix, after Bernardino Passeri,¹¹¹ which in addition places in a neighboring room the three Marys preparing to leave for the tomb, and outside an open window the tomb itself with the soldiers standing guard. And Christ also “flies” toward the Virgin in a delightful painting by Francesco Albani, in the Pitti Palace, a work of the mid-seventeenth century (Fig. 15).¹¹²

We have remarked that this borrowing of compositional schemes of one type or another from pictures of the Annunciation results from a desire to emphasize the parallelism between the two episodes; it remains to point out, briefly, why this should have been considered desirable. It would appear to be the result of the development during the fifteenth century of a number of patterned sequences of the events of the Life of Christ and of his mother, which assumed a considerable ritual importance; in particular, we might point out the series of the Seven Joys and the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin.¹¹³ As the desire grew to include the Virgin in all the important events of Christ's life, the scene of the Appearance after the Resurrection came to be included among the Seven Joys: we may recall that this was the case both in Memling's Altarpiece of the Seven Joys of Mary, and in Veit Stoss' sculptured altarpiece on the same theme (Fig. 11).¹¹⁴

106. A similar parallelism is expressed by Titian in his Ascension Altar of 1522 in the Church of SS. Nazaro e Celso, Brescia, in which the Annunciation occupies the upper portions of the wings (H. Tietze, *Tizian, Leben und Werk*, Vienna, 1936, fig. 55 brought to my attention by Dr. von Witzleben).

107. Huntington Library, Ms 1149 (not foliated); my information on this manuscript has been furnished by Prof. Panofsky, to whose attention it was brought by Prof. S. C. Chew (cf. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, I, p. 463 n. 263⁴).

108. Post, *op.cit.*, XI, pp. 215-217, fig. 76. Yanez executed the work between 1506 and 1510.

109. So published by Leonce Amandry, “The Collection of Dr. Carvallo at Paris,” *Burlington Magazine*, VI, 1905, pp. 304f. and pl. IV. The painting was given to the V.M.F.A. by Mr. Robert Lehman.

110. Bartsch 83. This was pointed out to me by Prof. Panofsky.

111. C. LeBlanc, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, IV, Paris, 1889, p. 223, no. 816.

112. Photo Alinari, No. 1.

113. Cf. S. Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland während des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1909, *passim*.

114. Cf. above, notes 86, 87.

Of great importance in this tendency toward codification of events of the sacred legends into harmonious and balanced sequences was the highly popular rosary cult, with its emphasis on enumeration and counting: it has been noticed by Dr. H. Sallmann¹¹⁵ that the Appearance was introduced as the Sixth Joy of the Virgin, instead of the Resurrection itself, as early as 1422 in the text of the so-called "Franciscan Crown" of Rosary prayers. At what date this was first reflected in art, it is, of course, more difficult to establish. But it was these compilations of events which led to the establishment of parallel episodes, and cycles of episodes, and thus to parallel iconographies such as the one in which the composition of the Annunciation was borrowed for that of the Appearance. Not that authority did not already exist for comparing the two events: we may recall that Rupert of Deutz described Christ's Appearance with the words, "victoriam suam annuntiavit";¹¹⁶ and St. Ambrose himself stressed the parallelism between the Resurrection from the unused tomb, and the Virgin birth.¹¹⁷

Once we have recognized the existence of this parallel, we may notice in some of our other examples of Christ's Appearance to the Virgin in art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that, although the conventional iconography is followed, certain attributes, particularly the bed and the *prie-dieu*, are introduced without basis in the original texts.¹¹⁸ These novel details suggest most strongly that the artists who introduced them had the iconography of the Annunciation in the back of their minds; but the direct influence of the iconography of the Annunciation, as we have seen, never established a firm hold in artistic practice, and left no single enduring iconographic tradition.

VII

By the latter part of the fifteenth century, this tendency to exalt the role of the Virgin in the events of the Passion of Christ had led to new and interesting variations on our theme;¹¹⁹ and there had also developed a whole new series of apocryphal episodes in popular literature concerning the period after the Resurrection, of which one is of particular interest in our present connection. This is the legend that Christ presented to his mother the Redeemed of the Old Testament, whom he had just freed from Limbo, when he appeared to her after the Resurrection. Although this subject may be found portrayed in the art of various parts of Western Europe, it would seem to have originated in Spain, where the only known examples prior to 1500 were created;¹²⁰ and the literary evidence indicates that it was in Spain that the legend first was given descriptive form.¹²¹ The story appears to be an outgrowth of the chapter on Christ's Appearance in Ludolf of Saxony's *Vita Christi*; Ludolf, the most popular of the vulgarizers of the Evangelists in Spain, describes very simply how Christ, spending Easter morning with his mother, tells her of his Harrowing of Hell, and how he liberated the Elect of the Old Dispensation from Limbo.¹²² In the hands of fifteenth century Spanish divines there emerged a full-blown account of Christ's actually bringing these individuals, Adam and Eve, Abraham, and the rest, to present to the Virgin when he first appeared to her.¹²³

115. Dr. Sallmann has very generously supplied me with most of the information about this matter embodied in the present section.

116. Cf. above, note 43.

117. Cf. above, note 39.

118. This seems to be evident particularly early in the French miniature of ca. 1425, in Walters MS W. 289 (Fig. 7); cf. above, note 64.

119. For example, on a single page of a Parisian Book of Hours of ca. 1480, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam MS 74, min. 46, fol. 122r (James, *op.cit.*, p. 197), she is present not only at the Pentecost, in the principal miniature, but at the Ascension and in another marginal miniature of Christ Addressing the Apostles. She is also present as Christ displays his wounds

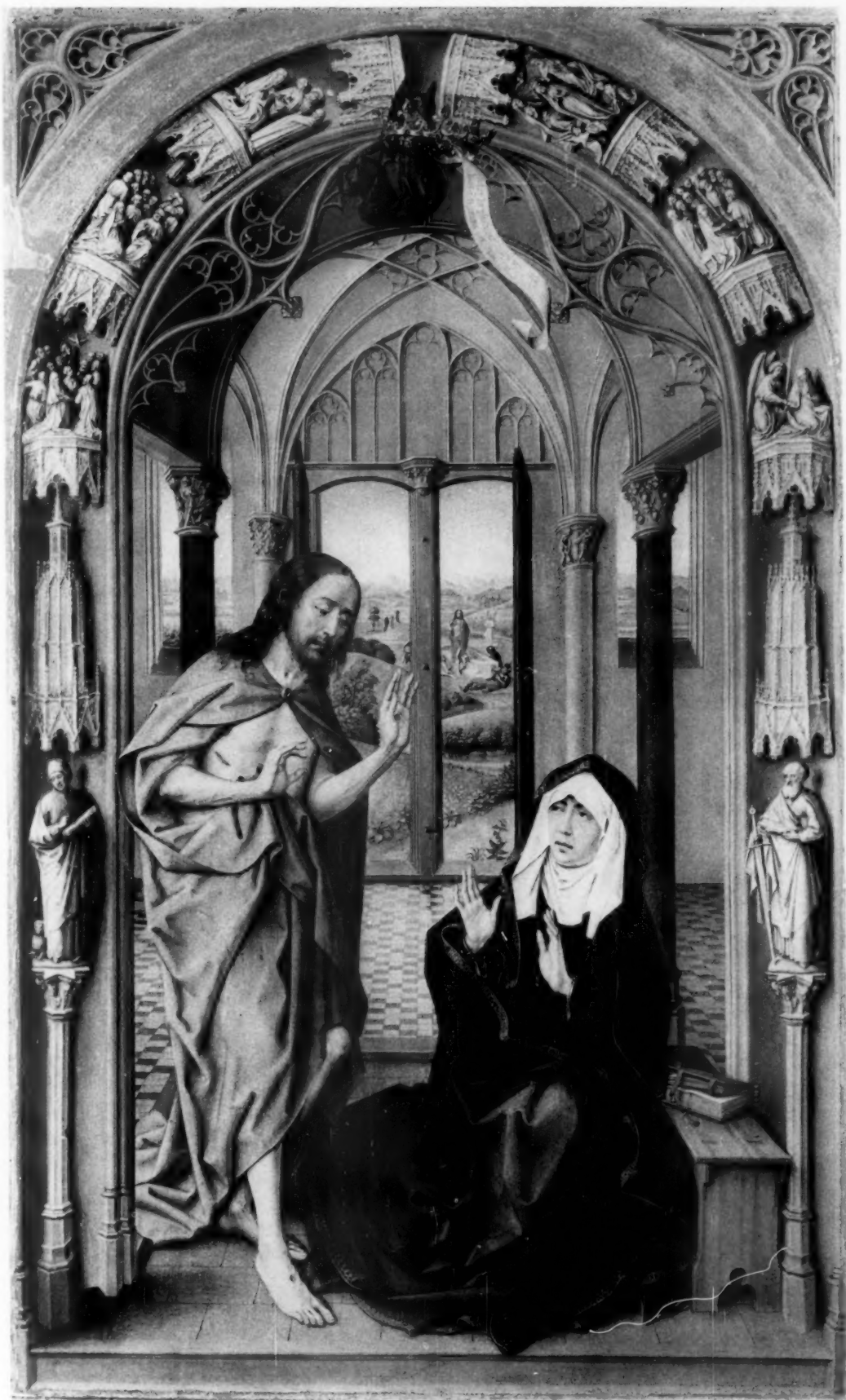
to the Apostles in a German woodcut of the last quarter of the 15th century (Schreiber, *op.cit.*, I, p. 224, no. 701).

120. Cf. Post, *op.cit.*, VI, 1, 1935, p. 270, notes 1 and 2; *ibid.*, VII, 2, 1938, p. 527, note 2; and King, *op.cit.*, pp. 296-298.

121. Two important articles are in Spanish periodicals: J. Gudiol, "La Mare de Deu en la Resurreccio de Crist," *Veu de Catalunya*, 1918, no. 429, Pagina artistica; L. de Saralegui, *op.cit.*

122. Cf. above, note 48.

123. It may occur in the *Vida de Crist* of the 14th century Catalan, Francisco Eximenis; in any event, the episode is related in a sermon on the Resurrection preached on April 23, 1413, by St. Vicente Ferrer (J. Sanchis y Sivera, *Quaresma*



10. Roger van der Weyden, *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*
(Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art)



11. Veit Stoss, *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*
Salzburg, Nonnberg Abbey, Church of St. John



12. *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*
Munich, Bayrische Staats-Bibliothek



13. *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*
San Marino, Huntington Lib. MS 1149



14. Antwerp Mannerist, *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*
Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts
(Gift of Mr. Robert Lehman)



15. Francesco Albani, *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*
Florence, Pitti Palace (photo: Alinari)



16. "Miguel Esteve," *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*
Williamstown, Williams College, Lawrence Art Museum



17. Simon Bening, *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*
Baltimore, Walters MS W. 442



18. *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*
N.Y., Morgan MS M. 7, fol. 20



19. Guido Reni, *Christ Appearing to the Virgin in Limbo*. Dresden, Gallery



20. *Christ Appearing to the Virgin (?)*. Baltimore Museum of Art

Apparently the earliest in date of our examples of this scene in Spanish art is a panel attributed by Post to the Perea Master,¹²⁴ in which a minimum of setting is indicated: instead, we are offered a picture of a close-packed throng of the Redeemed pushing forward to be introduced to the Virgin. She herself stands facing them, her back just that moment turned away from an altar at which she had been praying; now, with hands upraised, she faces her Son and the Redeemed.

Iconographically, this treatment was not influential; much preferred was the composition used in a panel from the great Retablo de la Reina Catolica, a painting attributed to the hand of Juan de Flandes himself.¹²⁵ This panel shows the Virgin seated at the foot of her bed, just lifting her eyes from prayer as her Son enters from out-of-doors, leading the first of a great throng of the Redeemed in to meet her. This composition, in which the details of the Virgin's bedchamber are indicated in more or less detail, became the one most generally employed by Spanish artists in the sixteenth century (Fig. 16),¹²⁶ and spread, as we shall see, to many other parts of Western Europe as well. In Andalusia, however, one ingenious painter (the question of priority between the two extant examples does not appear to be soluble) conceived the fascinating idea of adapting to this subject a quite different pictorial design, the composition of a painting with an only remotely similar subject, Perugino's *Presentation at the Temple* (perhaps known to him through Raphael's version).¹²⁷ The setting, of course, becomes the out-of-doors, an open piazza before the domed structure of Perugino's Temple, now lacking any inherent significance in the context of the picture; while the grouping of the figures represents a compromise between the established, asymmetric arrangement of the interior scene, and Perugino's carefully balanced composition for the *Presentation*.

Also out-of-doors is the setting of one apparently unique picture done by an artist of the School of the Perea Master at Valencia fairly early in the sixteenth century:¹²⁸ in this painting, the subject of which is derived directly from the writings of Sor Isabel de Villena,¹²⁹ Christ is to be seen bringing the Redeemed not to his mother's bedchamber, but to the Mount of Calvary, where the two thieves still hang upon their crosses, and where the Virgin is accompanied by Mary Magdalene and John the Evangelist, who join her in welcoming the Redeemed.

These seem to have been isolated iconographic "sports," which left no heritage of influence in further versions and copies; the same is not true of the scene of Christ presenting the Redeemed to his mother in her chamber. In his *History of Spanish Painting*,¹³⁰ Post notes one instance of the occurrence of this subject in Northern art, a diptych by Jan Mostaert which had been misidentified as representing simply Christ in Limbo.¹³¹ The two panels of the diptych represent adjoining halves of the same scene, the interior of a room crowded with many figures, of which those in the foreground are seen at less than full-length. On the left, Christ leans over his pray-

de Sant Vicent Ferrer, Barcelona, 1927, p. 308). It was popularized later in the century by the immensely influential *Vita Christi* of the Valencian nun Isabel de Villena, which was published in 1497 (ed. R. Miquel y Planas, Vol. III, Barcelona, 1916, pp. 164-179). Isabel used the inhabitants of Limbo as a sort of court for the Virgin, bringing them in on such other occasions as the Annunciation (cf. King, *loc.cit.*).

124. Post, *op.cit.*, VI, 1, pp. 269-272, fig. 104.

125. Sanchez Canton, *op.cit.*, pp. 129-130 and pl. xx.

126. For example, in two paintings by the Cabanyes Master, Post, *op.cit.*, VI, 2, p. 397 (illus. in *Archivo español de arte y arqueologia*, IX, 1933, pl. XIII and pp. 94-98); pp. 412-414, fig. 174 (cf. Post, *op.cit.*, XI, 1953, p. 326, note 2); a panel of a retablo attributed to "Miguel Esteve" (Fig. 16), now in the Lawrence Art Museum at Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. (*ibid.*, XI, p. 326, fig. 133); a panel attributed to the school of the Artes Master, in the Alcubierre Coll., Madrid (*ibid.*, XI, pp. 172-174, fig. 64); a panel by the St. Lazarus Master, in a Spanish private coll. (*ibid.*, VI, 2, p. 392, fig. 164); one of nine panels by Rodrigo de Osona the Younger, in the Provincial Museum at Valencia (F.A.R.L. Photo 803a, part 2, detail 4); a Catalan painting in the

Retablo of the Virgin in the Cathedral at Perpignan (F.A.R.L. Photo 803i); and the relief by Bartolome Ordenez for the choir-stalls of the Barcelona Cathedral, published by H. E. Wethey in ART BULLETIN, XXV, p. 236 and fig. 13.

127. A panel by Juan de Zamora in the Parcent Coll., Madrid (Post, *op.cit.*, X, 1950, p. 122, fig. 40), and a panel from a retablo in the Provincial Museum at Seville (*ibid.*, X, pp. 279-283 and fig. 106). Although Zamora's panel is far superior artistically, Post is by no means certain that it is earlier; it need not be, for it may represent an improvement by a capable painter upon the experimental novelty of a less talented colleague, driven to such experiments as a means of attracting attention his artistic talents did not gain him. The strongest probability is that both are derived from the well-known "common archetype."

128. In the Provincial Museum at Valencia (Post, *op.cit.*, VI, 2, pp. 448-450, fig. 190).

129. *Vita Christi*, Sections CCI-CCVI (cf. above, note 123).

130. *Op.cit.*, VI, 1, p. 270 n. 2.

131. Divided between the von Kuhlmann Coll., Berlin (left panel), and the Thyssen Coll., Schloss Rohoncz, Lugano: Friedländer, *op.cit.*, X, p. 120, no. 4, and pl. v.

ing mother, introducing the leading members of the group of Redeemed, Adam and Eve; behind them, and in the other panel, the rest of the throng press forward from the background, while angels flutter overhead, and a donor kneels "downstage" right, her hands clasped on her *prie-dieu*. There may be many such examples, hidden away in catalogues under titles such as "Christ in Limbo";¹³² but a sufficient number of authentic scenes of Christ presenting the Redeemed have already come to light in North European art of the sixteenth century to show that the subject was widely used even outside the sphere of direct Spanish influence. In Holland, in addition to the Mostaert diptych just described, we may point to another diptych of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, a composition more closely resembling the outdoor-indoor setting of the Spanish artists;¹³³ while in Flanders it was also used, although without any sense of an established iconography. In a miniature by Simon Bening, executed about 1520, one of a very full "Life of Christ" cycle probably intended for its present mounting in the form of a quadriptych, half-length figures of Christ and the Virgin, in poses derived from the Rogerian tradition examined above, are in the foreground of a large room, while behind them may be dimly perceived the heads of the great trembling throng of the Redeemed, more ghostly than corporeal in appearance (Fig. 17).¹³⁴ Nor is the subject unknown in the art of France (Fig. 18)¹³⁵ or Germany.¹³⁶

In Italy, on the other hand, we have found few examples of our theme in any of its phases, so that it is not surprising to find only rare instances of this type, such as a painting by Girolamo da Santacroce.¹³⁷ Far more important is its occurrence in the work of Titian, a canvas at S. Maria in Medole, executed about 1554,¹³⁸ painted as a personal favor in connection with the transfer of the canonry of the church from the artist's son to his nephew. This painting is unique in that there is no setting such as is to be found in the previous examples adduced; instead of being situated in the domestic interior which the narrative describes, the Virgin confronts her Son and the Redeemed in Heaven itself, on a bank of cloud, with the choir of angels looking on.

Titian's painting marks the end of the depiction of our theme as a narrative episode of Christ's ministry on earth; but it also serves to introduce another, and terminal, phase of the theme's development, in the new religious climate of the Counter-Reformation.

VIII

The last phase of the history of the iconography of Christ's Appearance to his mother, now wholly removed from any earthly setting, is represented by a group of Italian paintings, the earliest of which seems to be the work of Allesandro Allori in S. Marco at Florence, which might be taken for a typical Descent into Limbo but for the presence of a kneeling woman whom W. Friedlaender perceived to be none other than the Virgin Mary.¹³⁹ This work dates from about 1580; by the end of the century the same composition, with the Virgin more clearly indicated,

132. For example, the painting by the Master of Alkmaar formerly in the Hoschek Coll., Prague: *ibid.*, x, p. 125, no. 51, could be an unrecognized depiction of this episode.

133. In the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (*Catalogue*, 1920, pp. 9-10, nos. 45-46), attributed by Friedländer, *op.cit.*, x, p. 125, no. 54, to the Master of Alkmaar, but given to a Follower of Cornelis Buys by G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, II, The Hague, 1937, pp. 384f., figs. 186-187; the latter attribution is the one followed by the RM.

134. Walters Art Gallery, W. 442. For bibliography, cf. *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Baltimore, 1949, pp. 77f., no. 212. The scene also appears on a tapestry in the Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, no. 1941.129, cited by Panofsky, *op.cit.*, I, p. 463 n. 263⁴.

135. It occurs in a 16th century Book of Hours for the usage of Rouen in the Morgan Library, MS M.7, fol. 20. I am indebted to Miss Meta Harrsen for bringing this miniature to my attention.

136. Cf. a pen and water color drawing in the Dürer tradition in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (F. Winkler, *Die Zeichnungen Albrecht Dürers*, III, Berlin, 1938, pl. xvii; E. Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, II, Princeton, 1948, p. 72, no. 623.

137. Pub. by G. Bernardini with other pictures from the Lazzaroni Coll., in *Rassegna d'arte*, XI, 1911, p. 104.

138. H. Tietze, *op.cit.*, fig. 222 and p. 301. I owe this important citation to Dr. Sallmann.

139. W. Friedlaender, "Contributo alla cronologia e all'iconografia di Lodovico Carracci," *Cronache d'arte*, III, 1926, p. 138, fig. 5 and pp. 138f.

had been used by Lodovico Carracci¹⁴⁰ and by Guido Reni (Fig. 19),¹⁴¹ and its occurrence may be traced well along in the seventeenth century.¹⁴²

This strange adaptation of the scene of the Descent into Limbo quite obviously stems from the subject we have just discussed, Christ's Presenting the Redeemed to the Virgin; and, since the participation of the Virgin in this sequence of events is moved up to an earlier point, it would seem to obviate that variant of the Appearance scene, as well as the Appearance itself. The occasion for this new transformation of our subject, or rather fusion of two iconographic themes, was determined by Panofsky as the consequence of the so-called *Bulla Sabbatina* of 1577, a spurious work which went so far as to assert that on the Saturday after the Crucifixion, the Virgin herself descended into Limbo and was responsible for freeing Christ from the bonds of death!¹⁴³ Such a thesis was of course totally unacceptable on theological grounds; but it was so popular that almost immediately a series of authentic Papal Bulls were issued which allowed the interpretation that the Virgin was present at the Harrowing of Hell as intercessor with Christ for the Redeemed.

In this way official Roman doctrine, by establishing a new type of Resurrection scene outside the traditional narrative contexts we have studied, tended to eliminate the usefulness of the subject of Christ's Appearance to the Virgin. In addition, numerous nonnarrative variants of the Appearance scene were already familiar; although in content they were often far removed from the traditional "Appearance," they frequently derived their formal composition from the iconographic schemes developed for that subject—and, in terms of their final significance, they may be said to stand for an extension of the same intent as that which originally gave rise to, and determined the development of, the iconographic innovations we have been studying.¹⁴⁴ By and large, these variants are strongly personal ones; they serve to emphasize the essentially personal nature of the content of the Appearance scene itself. And with the individual experience so emphasized, it becomes possible for persons other than the Virgin Mary reasonably to be recipients of visions of the Risen Christ.¹⁴⁵ Sometimes, in works of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, it becomes all but impossible to determine objectively whether it is the Virgin Mary, or some reverent living individual to whom Christ is manifesting himself: this is the case in two drawings after Dürer,¹⁴⁶ as it is with a seventeenth century Spanish carving in Baltimore (Fig. 20).¹⁴⁷

140. A painting in the church of the Corpus Domini, Bologna (H. Bodmer, *Lodovico Carracci*, Burg, 1939, p. 130, no. 47, and pl. 54). A sketch for this work is published by Friedlaender as fig. 6 in his discussion of the Corpus Domini painting, *op.cit.*, pp. 137-141.

141. Dresden *Catalogue*, I, Berlin, 1929, pp. 153f., no. 322. A Carraccesque copy of this work is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (F. R. Earp, *A Descriptive Catalogue* . . . , Cambridge, 1902, pp. 38f., no. III.163, illus. facing p. 38. Cf. Bodmer, *op.cit.*, p. 142).

142. Cf. a painting by the Neapolitan Andrea Vaccaro, also in Dresden (*Catalogue*, I, p. 205, no. 464).

143. E. Panofsky, "Imago Pietatis," *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer*, Leipzig, 1927, p. 306, note 107.

144. One such type is the "Virgin of the Sword of Sorrows," a sort of "*Schmerzensmutter*" transfixed by palpable wounds when beholding her Son on the Cross or as the Man of Sorrows (cf. W. F. Gerdt, Jr., "The Sword of Sorrow," *Art Quarterly*, XVII, 1954, pp. 213-229). The "Virgin of the Sword of Sorrows" dates back to the Gothic period, but the appearance of a new variant in the 15th century (*ibid.*, pp. 220f. and fig. 6) seems to depend upon the iconography of both the "Noli me tangere" and the appearance to the Virgin. It is not, however, a narrative scene at all; furthermore, whereas the Appearance is triumphant and joyful, and becomes by substitution one of the Seven Joys of Mary, the "Sword

of Sorrows" image in the 16th century becomes instead one of her Seven Sorrows (*ibid.*, pp. 220 and 225; fig. 11).

Similarly, the Virgin's presence may give added poignancy to the *Schmerzmann* image in its more traditional form, as in the iconographic type isolated by Hoogewerff in 15th and 16th century Dutch painting (*op.cit.*, II, pp. 179-186). We should prefer to distinguish between Hoogewerff's examples, figs. 81 and 83, and his third citation, p. 185, fig. 83, which would appear to derive from the Pietà image rather than from that of the Man of Sorrows.

145. As early as 1470, in the manuscript of the *Dialogue de Jesus-Christ et de la Duchesse*, a transcription of a conversation between the Savior and Mary of Burgundy, the frontispiece illustrates their meeting in a miniature obviously derived from the traditional Flemish iconography of Christ's Appearance to the Virgin, with the Duchess Mary occupying the place of the latter: London, British Museum, MS Add. 7970, fol. lv, illus. in O. Pächt, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy*, London, 1948, pl. I.

146. Panofsky, *Dürer*, II, p. 72, no. 624 (Louvre, Paris) and 625 (Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel, a copy of the Louvre drawing); the former is cited by Winkler, *op.cit.* I, no. 44, who considers the feminine participant a nun, and definitely not the Virgin Mary.

147. Acc. no. 35,35.1.

Just as our principal subject, the narrative episode of Christ's Appearance to his mother, makes its own appearance contemporaneously with an increasing emphasis on the part played by the individual member in the church community in the later Middle Ages—an aspect of the reaction against scholasticism—so this stage of diversification represents an ultimate phase of the development of this aspect of Christian worship, at least within the framework of the Roman Catholic church. Depicting as it does an intimate, personal moment in the relationship between Christ and his mother, the scene lacks the dogmatic importance of the canonical episodes of the Passion cycle; but, in symbolizing the direct personal contact possible between the individual and the Godhead, it had great meaning in a period when the larger ceremonies of church ritual were losing their hold on the imagination of the laity, in favor of individual devotions and meditative exercises.

It is indicative of this that apparently the first instance of the use of our subject in later mediaeval art was in a personal book of devotions, the *Passionale Kunigundae*; it continued to occur most frequently in just such contexts, and to be most popular in those countries and periods where such individual devotions were most widely practiced. It appears, moreover, in that most widely circulated art form of the time, the woodcuts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which served a populace unable to afford original works of art for their private devotions. On the other hand, its appearance in monumental art or church altarpieces remained relatively rare. It was, in its very essence, a "popular" subject in the truest sense of the word.

It is interesting to note that when the Roman Catholic church, opposing what was perhaps only the logical end product of this individualization of Christian worship, the Protestant sects, began to codify the forms of these personal devotions in order to integrate them once more within the framework of its ritual, it sometimes included this episode among those enumerated for the contemplation of the faithful. This is especially clear in the case of the rosary cult, the most obvious example of the ritualization of personal devotions, which soon found room for the inclusion of this scene.

After the Council of Trent, the tendency to reemphasize the value of collective worship spelled the end for our subject, with its variants and offshoots, in favor of a more or less impersonal message about the Redemption. The Appearance of Christ with the Redeemed, although derived from the writings of the Spanish mystics, has a far less personal content than the emotionally-charged scene described by the Pseudo-Bonaventura; and the scene of Christ and the Virgin in Limbo depicted by the Bolognese eclectics, for all its dash and drama, is quite impersonal by comparison with the work of Roger or even of Dürer.

The removal of the episode from the realm of human experience may almost be symbolized by the change in its setting: from earth, where it first was reported to have occurred, it was removed to Heaven, and thence at last to Hell—or at least Purgatory. This very impersonalization soon brought an end to the useful life of the theme; in the rapid constriction in the number of narrative subjects employed in religious art, which began in the seventeenth century, this episode was crowded out and, since its intense personal significance was now lost, it disappeared from general use.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF CHARTRES CATHEDRAL

PAUL FRANKL

THE Romanesque cathedral of Chartres, built in 1020 by Bishop Fulbert, was destroyed by fire on June 10, 1194.¹ Only the crypt and the west façade with its two towers remained undamaged. The construction of the present Gothic building was begun as soon as the rubble had been cleared away, and by 1220 the vaults were completed.

Over such a relatively short span of time architects rarely deviate from their initial design. But in Chartres the flying buttresses of the choir are different from those of the nave and stylistically more advanced. Lefèvre-Pontalis, therefore, thought that in Chartres, contrary to normal practice, the design was changed when the erection of the cathedral reached the choir. As the flying buttresses of the choir are later than those of the nave, Lefèvre-Pontalis thought the whole choir to be later than the whole nave, and this led him to the conclusion that the construction proceeded from west to east.² Relying upon the authority of this excellent scholar, most art historians up to the present time have shared this opinion, although a few believe that the building was constructed from the east. In the following essay it will be shown that the assumption of Lefèvre-Pontalis is untenable and an attempt will be made to prove that construction proceeded from east to west.

I. THE WEST-TO-EAST THEORY

The statement that the flying buttresses of the choir are later than those of the nave is obviously correct. But how much later? Lefèvre-Pontalis thought that they too were built prior to 1220.

The flying buttresses of the nave consist of three arches, one above the other (Fig. 1). The third was added to transfer the thrust of the roof to the strong buttresses of the side aisles. René Merlet rightly ascribes this addition to the fourteenth century.³ The two lower arches, belonging to the thirteenth century, are connected by an arcade of small semicircular arches resting on five short columns with capitals, similar to the arcade of the triforia inside except for the fact that the columns are radial as though the whole pattern were a part of a wheel window (Fig. 2).

The choir system is basically different in that it has to span not only one side aisle, but the two ambulatories. Therefore it is divided into two sections (Fig. 3). The inner section consists of three arches, one above the other, which transfer the thrust of the vault and roof to an intermediary pier rising above the column between the two ambulatories. The outer section, a single arch, transfers the remainder of the thrust to the outer buttress, the face of which is adorned with a tabernacle. The supporters of Lefèvre-Pontalis are of the opinion that the third arch of the inner section was added in the fourteenth century—as in the case of the third arches in the nave—and that the others were erected before 1220. This seems improbable on first glance, because the arcade between the two lower arches of the inner section seems so advanced in style compared to the corresponding arcade in the nave. In the system at the east end, the four small arches of the arcade are pointed. The supports are slender piers, square in section and turned to an angle of

1. The exact date was found by Marcel Joseph Bulteau in the *Livre de l'abbaye des Vaux de Cernay*, a manuscript at the Vatican published by Bulteau himself in his book, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Chartres*, Chartres, 1887, I, p. 97. The description of the disaster is contained in the "Poème des miracles de Notre-Dame," quoted *ibid.*, p. 98.

2. Eugène Lefèvre-Pontalis "Les architectes et la construction des cathédrales de Chartres," *Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, LXIV, Paris, 1905, p. 34.

3. René Merlet, *La Cathédrale de Chartres (Petites monographies des grands édifices de la France)* Paris, 1909, p. 46.

45 degrees. Capitals are omitted and the piers continue into the small arches, giving them a chamfered profile. These characteristics place them either in the late thirteenth or in the fourteenth century. The omission of capitals, however, is to be found in many windows of Chartres Cathedral, and we need not go far to find an example of the continuation of a chamfer into the pointed arch: we have only to look at the openings in the reenforcing walls of the crypt which definitely go back to the time before 1220 (Figs. 12 and 14). While the elements do seem to have been taken from this lower part in order to achieve conformity, their design as a whole is very different, heavy in the crypt—with broad proportions—extremely light in the upper part, the radial measurement of the lower flying arches of the choir being about half that of the corresponding arch of the nave. The same is true of the heavy column above the two arches supporting the cornice; this column and also the tabernacle on the face of the outer buttress is the work of the master who designed the system of the nave. The "late" parts are not his work. It is unlikely that his style could have advanced so far in a period of ten or fifteen years. The arches with their light arcature belong to the period of the third, uppermost arch, that is, to the fourteenth century.

In the well-known expertise of Chartres, held in 1316, the commission expressed concern over the condition of the "arz bouteréz, qui espaulent les voustes," and advised that they be repaired by refilling the joints with mortar.⁴ Obviously this remedy sufficed in the nave systems, but not in those of the choir. The master of 1316 reconstructed the flying buttresses of the choir and in so doing made radical alterations in them in accordance with the advanced style of the time. The vault of the crossing underwent a similar transformation. Here too the experts advised cautious repair, but instead it was replaced by a new vault, likewise corresponding to the improvement in construction reached at this time.

This leads one to conclude that the flying buttresses of the choir are not the same as those which existed before 1220 but that they date from the time after the expertises, about one hundred years later, i.e., after 1316.

As to the comparison between the flying buttresses in the nave and choir, one difference in the outer buttresses has been emphasized by Mr. Grodecki, in conversation with the author: the faces of the nave buttresses are decorated with shallow niches (Fig. 1) containing reliefs of standing bishops whereas those of the choir have the aforementioned tabernacles (Fig. 3). Mr. Grodecki asserts that the tabernacles are later than the niches, since their form is more complex. Stylistically complexity is not in itself a deciding factor. The chief difference between the two is that the gable of the tabernacles is still clearly defined as a separate member by a horizontal cornice, whereas in the niches the trefoil arch penetrates into the gable. The separation of the gable is a legacy from the Romanesque, while the interpenetration is a specifically Gothic form. If these two details were to be used to determine the chronology of nave and choir, they would, seen from this point of view, prove that the choir is stylistically the older part. This argument is invalidated, however, by the fact that in the regressing parts of the buttresses above those containing the niches, there are gables which again are clearly separated by a horizontal molding just like those in the tabernacles of the choir. The interpenetration of arch and gable, on the other hand, is already to be found in late Romanesque architecture.⁵ The master of the nave could see an example of it every day, simply by looking at the southern tower of the west front of this very cathedral. The design of the tabernacles in the choir and the niches in the nave are from the same time (ca. 1196) whatever may be the date of their execution.

4. Victor Mortet, "L'expertise de la cathédrale de Chartres en 1316," *Congr. Arch., tenue à Chartres en 1900*, Paris and Caen, 1901, p. 314.

5. Eugène Lefèvre-Pontalis, "Les origines des gables," *Bulletin monumental*, LXXI, 1907, p. 92. He mentions as the earliest example of a half circle pushed up into a gable

the portal of Rhuis (Oise), built in the 11th century. See also the Revelation of St. John, Bibliothèque de la ville in Cambrai, ms 386 (about the 11th century), fol. 2v, reproduced in Amadée Benoît, *Bulletin de la société française de reproductions des manuscrits à peinture*, p. vi, Paris, 1922, pl. XXIX.

Recently Lefèvre-Pontalis has found a supporter in Mr. Grodecki, who wrote: "It is evident that the arches of the Chartres choir lead to those of the choir at Auxerre (designed ca. 1225 ?), to those of the cathedral of Troyes (designed ca. 1235) and later to those of the choir at Amiens."⁶ The flying buttresses of Auxerre Cathedral also consist of two arches, but, unlike the flying buttresses of the Chartres choir, they are connected by a row of vertical staffs carrying small double arches. Grodecki may have had in mind merely the doubling of the arches, but this occurs at Chartres in those of the nave as well as in those of the choir.

The system of buttresses in the cathedral at Troyes again consists of two arches, one above the other, but there are no supports between the two. Did the example of Chartres lead to this omission? Certainly not; nor does there seem to be a valid basis for the claim that Troyes is derived from Auxerre. The flying buttresses of Amiens likewise have two arches, one above the other, in the choir with a row of vertical tracery between them, a variation of those in the windows of the clearstory. Some parts of the tracery in the flying buttresses were changed in the period of the flamboyant style, but the original form of the High Gothic has been partially preserved and this belongs in the nave to 1220, in the choir to the time before 1269, the date of the stained glass in the central window. The flying buttresses in Amiens cannot be derived from Troyes or from Auxerre, still less from the Chartres choir, where the radial direction of the arcature after 1316 probably is a reminiscence of its predecessor in this choir finished about 1210. If we were to set this arcature vertically, as in the case of the staffs in Auxerre and the tracery in Amiens, we would notice the interesting fact that in Chartres there are small holes in the spandrels of the pointed arches which are reminiscent of the group of windows below the northern rose window of the transept. Whether the form of the flyers in the choir of Chartres is derived from that row of windows is not known, but certainly neither the pattern of the windows in the north transept nor that of the flying buttress is the model for the tracery in Amiens.

Grodecki believes that the west-to-east theory can be supported by several other arguments. One of them runs as follows: "The windows in the side aisles of the forechoir have large embrasures and two lights surmounted by oculi. They are therefore more advanced than the single windows in the side aisles of the nave, and this more developed composition agrees with the more advanced form of the moldings." If, as Grodecki claims, Chartres Cathedral was built from west to east, then the windows of the clearstory in the nave must have been designed and executed before those of the forechoir.⁸ They too have large embrasures and two lights surmounted by oculi. Unquestionably the side aisles were built, because of statics, before the clearstory—but are they less advanced in style because they have single lights? The same question may be asked concerning the windows in the side aisles of the choir and its clearstory. The reason why the side aisles of the nave have windows with one light only is obvious. The buttresses in the nave (Fig. 1) are broader than those in the choir (Fig. 5), because they have to counteract the full thrust of the vaults and the roof, whereas in the forechoir a part of this thrust is counteracted by the eastern towers on both sides. The master made the openings of all the windows of nearly equal breadth. He could find room for two lights in the clearstory and in the side aisles of the forechoir, but for only one light in the side aisles of the nave. Here, however, there was more space remaining between the frame and the buttresses with the result that the embrasures in the nave are broader. Neither of these forms is "more advanced." They were both included in the design drawn up by the same master soon after the fire of 1194 (probably in 1196). That there is a difference in

6. Louis Grodecki, "The Transept Portals of Chartres Cathedral: The Date of their Construction according to Archaeological Data," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXIII, 1951 (hereafter referred to as Grodecki), p. 156, especially note 18.

7. Grodecki, p. 158.

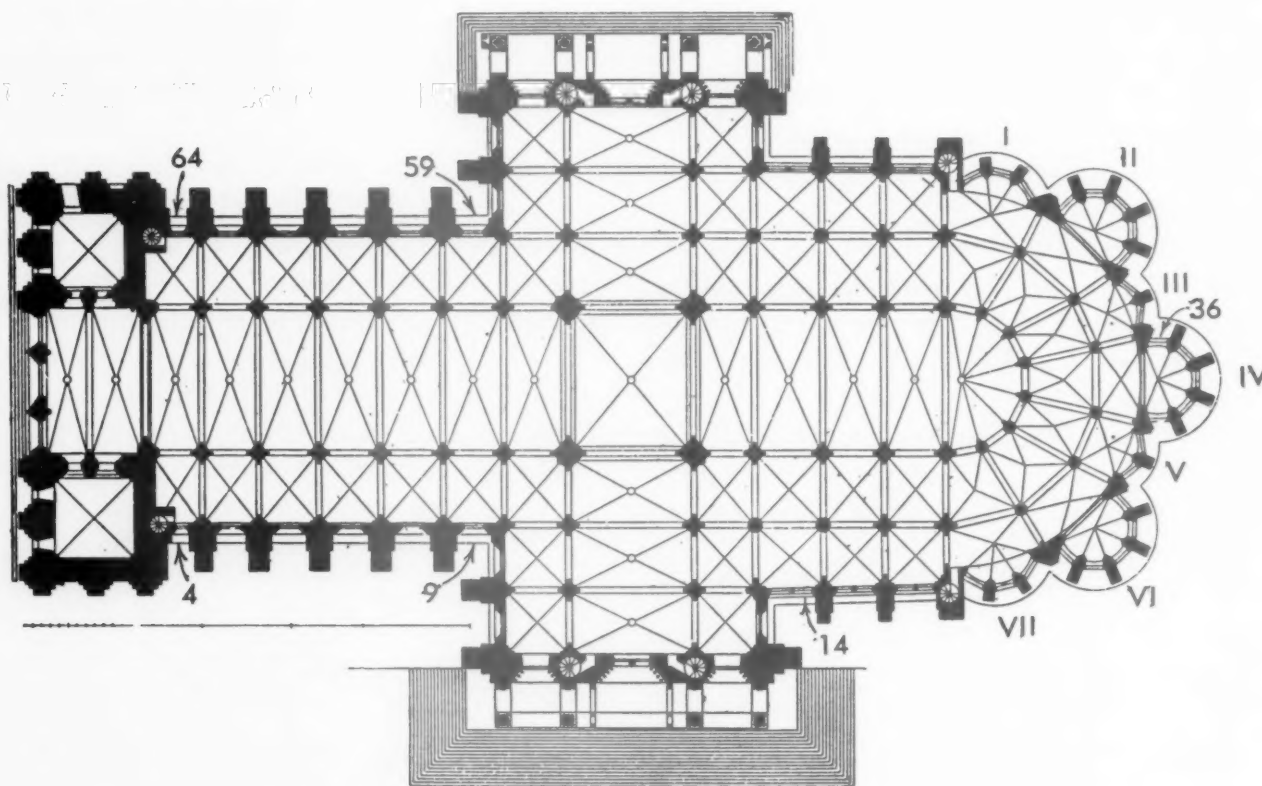
8. The form as such existed long before, e.g. the openings

of the galleries in St.-Germer, from some years after 1132. Although these are not windows, they show that one cannot regard the doubling of the lights with an oculi above an advancement of style in the period between 1194 and ca. 1210.

the profiles is quite true. Those of the nave are divided by two angular furrows, and those of the forechoir have only a single chamfer. Grodecki gives the date of the first as 1195, of the second as about 1205. Even if this were correct, it would be impossible to verify without more specific historic information or, within the short span of a single decade, to determine with stylistic criticism which profile is the earlier. Therefore these differences do not help to prove that the nave was erected first.

The next argument presented by Grodecki is as follows: "The style of the stained glass in the nave, side aisles as well as clearstory, is less advanced than in the choir, with the exception of one window in the northern side aisle (*History of Joseph*)."⁹ That the style of the stained glass in the nave, side aisles as well as clearstory, is on the contrary much more advanced than in the eastern chapels, ambulatory, forechoir, etc., will be proved in a later article. The window of the *History of Joseph* also belongs to the later series. Only the window of the *Redemption* is one of the earliest works.

A text of 1210 (see section 6 below) refers to an altar in the choir. Lefèvre-Pontalis, believing that the present choir was not yet in existence at that time, advanced the theory of a "provisional choir," but did not indicate whether it was a structure of wood or stone, nor exactly where it may have stood.¹⁰ Grodecki located it in the last (easternmost) bays of both of the side aisles in the nave. In the northern side aisle the window of this bay contains symbolic pictures of the Redemption (text fig. 1, no. 59). Grodecki argues that an altar could be placed beneath this window and



1. Chartres, Cathedral, plan, after von Bezold (window numbering after Delaporte)

9. Grodecki, p. 158.

10. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op.cit.*, p. 102 (in the reprint, p. 34). He says "chevet": "Comme les arcs-boutants du choeur portent l'empreinte d'un style plus avancé que ceux de la nef, je suis persuadé qu'on éleva d'abord un chevet provisoire pour y célébrer, pendant que les travaux de la nef et des bas-côtés étaient poussés avec grande activité." Bulteau, *op.cit.*, I, p. 113, inferred from the *Livre des miracles* that the choir

was reopened for the service in 1198. Whether this is right or not, certainly Lefèvre-Pontalis did not mean the nave and its aisles when he wrote the words: *chevet provisoire*. He says clearly that the aisles were still in construction while the *chevet provisoire* was erected. The locating of the "choir" in the side aisles of the nave is a new suggestion made by Grodecki.

the bay used as a "choir."¹¹ Whether or not an altar ever actually stood here I do not know. Grodecki observed that elsewhere stained-glass windows depicting the Redemption were, as a rule, "placed in the chevet, either in the ambulatory or in the axial chapel as is the case in Bourges, Rouen, Orbais, Tours, and formerly in St.-Denis and the cathedral of Châlons-sur-Marne." Therefore the window of the *Redemption* seems to him a proof that the "provisional choir" was located here.

This ingenious theory proves to be untenable because the ornament of the border stripe is slightly interrupted at the springing line. The stained glass was not originally destined for the place where it is now, but for a longer window. It is very probable that it was previously in the central chapel at the east end, in the first light at the left (no. 36), and that it was replaced about 1260 by a grisaille to improve illumination. The last window in the right aisle (no. 9), portraying the Miracles of the Virgin of Chartres, is in its original place. The subject matter does not prove that this was the location of the "provisional choir"; the style, however, indicates that it dates from the time when all the stained glass of the choir and forechoir was finished. If a provisional altar had been placed in the last bay of the nave, the text of 1210 would scarcely have referred to it as *chorus*. It is also doubtful whether it would have been convenient for churchgoers to hear the mass held in this bay, even if a provisional wooden construction had been erected to close off the nave toward the crossing (which in 1210, according to the west-to-east theory, may just have been begun). To put the "provisional choir" in the last bay of the nave would mean that the clergy would have had to wait possibly as long as fifteen years to build a "provisional altar," whereas the central chapel with a permanent altar could be used as early as 1200 or even before.

Grodecki's conclusions on this subject are not entirely clear. He wrote: "Since one part of the church had to be erected speedily in order to provide a place for the services, it was logical to begin with the nave rather than with the choir, and its construction may have started as early as 1194-1195. While this was going on, the foundation on the eastern section could be completed and the process of construction certainly continued without interruption."¹² A footnote to this sentence adds that "it was normal to start at the place spared by the fire if this were only to preserve equilibrium." The phrase "while this was going on" leaves open the question as to when the work at the eastern part was begun, but it suggests that at times the work was in process in both places. This contradicts the preceding sentence, because in this case the construction of the nave would have been slowed down, unless we are to assume that the clergy had at its disposal unlimited funds and armies of masons. It is more probable that one part was built first and it would have been illogical to build the entire nave for the purpose of getting a "provisional choir," instead of setting to work at once on the construction of a permanent choir at the east end. That it was normal to start at the place spared by the fire should be proved by examples, and that it would have been a help to join the western towers first for the sake of securing equilibrium is a mistake. It was normal to begin with the chapels of the east end without worrying about equilibrium, which had to be secured by the walls and buttresses of the chapels themselves. Taking all these many facts in consideration, the hypothesis of the "provisional choir" must be abandoned.

The validity of the west-to-east doctrine is further challenged by the measurements of the three western bays. Not only are they shorter than those that follow but, instead of being equal, they decrease toward the west (text fig. 1). This suggests that upon reaching the fourth bay, advancing from the east to the west, the builders were forced to reduce the distances between the piers from this point up to the towers. In order to conceal the sudden change, it was necessary

11. Grodecki, note 23. About the modern parts of the Redemption window see Y. Delaporte, *Les vitreaux de la cathédrale de Chartres*, Chartres 1926, p. 383. The numbering of the windows used in our text figure is Delaporte's.

12. Grodecki, p. 158. The idea that construction proceeded in the nave and choir at the same time is already contained in the Lefèvre-Pontalis' statement quoted in note 10 above.

to distribute the reduction. Grodecki's explanation of this is that the location of the first piers of the nave was dictated by "the oldest foundations of the twelfth century in the last bay (scil. the first western bay of the nave), of the eleventh in the preceding one (scil. under the towers)."¹³ To check this statement one has only to place the groundplan of the main floor upon that of the crypt. It can be seen that the Gothic piers are spaced at approximately the same distance from one another as are the pilasters in the long corridor of the crypt, but since this corridor is much narrower than the side aisle above, the piers are pushed towards the middle axis of the nave. Half of their foundation is supplied by the wall of the crypt, while for the other half a new foundation had to be built. It is true that the master who made the design for the Gothic church distributed the piers from the fourth to the sixth bay according to the axes of the pilasters in the crypt which supported square groin vaults. The axes of the western bays in the crypt are all equidistant from one another, whereas the intervals between those of the upper floor decrease. Therefore the diminution in the bays upstairs cannot be explained by a diminution below. Furthermore, the first pier in the nave stands, as Grodecki rightly observed, above the twelfth century foundation. This, however, is so broad—according to the plan published by Merlet—that it would not have mattered if the pier had been placed a few feet farther to the west. What was really hampering the master was the existence of the towers of the west façade. The diminution of the distances between the piers of the three western bays remains an argument for the east-to-west theory.

Last summer (1956) Mr. Grodecki called my attention to another detail which in his opinion is a final proof for the commencement of the work at the west end. In the two interior bays on the north and south faces of the western towers, blind windows were added (Fig. 4) that have in general the same form as those in the rest of the clearstory of the cathedral, but their simpler profile shows, in his opinion, that they are older. This simpler form is repeated, for example, in St.-Laumer in Blois, dating a few years after the fire in Chartres.

I hope that my report of Mr. Grodecki's statement is exact. My answer is that I do not see a difference in the profiles. A photograph of the lower part of one of the blind windows has been published by Mâle, who also illustrates the clearstory windows.¹⁴ They seem to me identical in form. Yet if there are some differences, they are not great enough to determine whether the blind windows were built a short time after 1194 or a short time before 1220. The church in Blois has been dated in the thirteenth century.¹⁵ If it should be dated, as Mr. Grodecki told me, in 1198, then its windows could have been copied as well from the nave—or rather the choir—as from the pairs of blind windows on the north and south faces of the western towers, supposing that they already existed before 1220. But in Blois the whole elevation is a copy of that in Chartres, and therefore it must have been the choir or the nave bays of Chartres that furnished the model for the bays in Blois, rather than the totally different elevation of the lower interior parts of the Chartres towers. Certainly one may reply that the master of Blois could have known the design for Chartres on parchment before it was realized. Yet, whatever may have been the case in Blois, the form of the blind windows in Chartres may have been established either before or after that of the clearstory windows. Therefore the blind windows as such prove nothing for either theory.

The reason for the addition of the blind windows is obvious. The distance between the western towers is greater than the width of the nave. The walls that were added to the interior walls of the towers have the aesthetic function of continuing the plane of the clearstory, and furthermore they were necessary to attain a smooth continuation of the roof above the nave.

The architect, when he made his design, must have been already aware of the recession of this

13. *ibid.* note 16. The measurements can be taken from J. B. A. Lassus and A. Duval, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Chartres*, Paris, 1865; see also René Merlet, *op.cit.* the first plate after the title page.

14. Émile Mâle, *Notre-Dame de Chartres*, Paris, 1948, pls. 98, 99.

15. *Congr. Arch. tenue à Blois*, Paris, 1926, p. 113.

surface between the towers and have decided to add walls about four feet thick on brackets (assuming that he wanted to preserve the towers). It is, however, highly improbable that the execution of this detail was the first step after 1194, as the clergy wanted to have a place for the service as soon as possible. To align the two western bays with a nave that did not yet exist would have caused an unnecessary delay. Furthermore the crownlines of both vaults between the towers mount to the west to reach the upper rim of the western oculus. This is easily visible from the nave, still better from the attic, but also in the longitudinal section of the building (Fig. 4).¹⁶ The western oculus was built together with the blind windows. Had this already been done a short time after 1194? The oculus does not exactly correspond with the central axis of the windows and the *portail royal* below (dating from about 1145 to 1155). Did the architect begin with this irregularity? Or did he have to accept it after the whole church (except for the transept façades) was finished? Today, the space between the two towers looks unfinished, as if it had been a compromise reached after the choir, nave, and transept had been vaulted and interest had turned to the decoration of the transept façades and porches. The blind windows really are no argument for the west-to-east theory; they rather support the opposite one. If the architect had started with the double bay between the towers, he probably would have taken the upper rim of the western rose as the level for all keystones of the nave, transept, and choir. The elevating of the vaults between the two towers and the consequent increase of height in the first western blind windows seem to be the last step in erecting the cathedral: a compromise between the requirements of the nearly finished building and the necessity to keep the old towers of the façade. This compromise also explains why the western rose touches the arch of the window below.

Up to this point none of the arguments in favor of the west-to-east theory has proved tenable. We may therefore proceed to examine the merits of the opposite theory. The arguments based on the thirteenth century text, which supposedly favor the west-to-east theory, will be considered below (Section 6) when the absolute chronology is discussed.

2. THE EAST-TO-WEST THEORY

At the street level, where the Gothic southern side aisle joins the southern tower of the west front, a strange *pentimento* may be seen.¹⁷ It looks like a small, low door partially filled by the socle of a buttress (Fig. 6). Looking up, one discovers the continuation of this buttress above the cornice of the side aisle. The portion between for about 15 m or 45 feet, has been chiseled away, obviously in order to make room for the first window of the southern aisle (text fig. 1, no. 4; Fig. 7). The opening of this window is narrower than that of the others. It is 1.90 m wide, the others being about 2.30 m. To obtain even the breadth of 1.90 m, not only did the buttress, which projected about 50 cm, have to be chiseled away, but also the profile of the window frame had to be reduced. It is completely developed at the apex, but it is cut by the inner edge of the first buttress at the right side and still more so at the left side. Seen from within (Fig. 8), the right side of the window has no frame at all; the glass is joined in a very crude way directly to the tower, or more exactly to the staircase wall of the tower.

The situation at the north (Fig. 1) is not exactly the same, because the north tower has different measurements and its staircase has no buttress. The first window of the northern aisle (text fig. 1, no. 64) is supplied on the outside with a nearly complete frame, except that at the bottom a part of the embrasure is covered by a reenforcement of the eastern wall of the tower (Fig. 9). The wall of the northern side aisle cuts into that of the staircase. Here too, a part of

16. Published by Lassus and Duval, *op.cit.*, pl. xxxiv. (The plates are numbered only in the little text volume.)

17. This corner is not visible in the drawing of Lassus and Duval on pl. x, but it is visible in pl. 13 of Delaporte,

op.cit., at the bottom of the drain spout. This detail seems not to be mentioned in the literature about Chartres Cathedral. This niche is 1.77 high and about 50 cm broad.

the older architecture had to be chiseled away. This is here more visible (Fig. 10), although still more complicated, than on the south side. Above the cornice of the side aisle the wall of the staircase appears in its original dimensions. The window (with the story of Noah) has the normal breadth and there was also space enough for the embrasure outside and inside.

The diminution of the third, second, and first bays also affected the windows of the clearstory. The narrower they became, the smaller their oculi had to be, and therefore the higher the two lights. This is not noticeable to the average beholder, but it was certainly embarrassing to the architect who was striving for regularity.

All of this poses the question whether the architect was forced to make a compromise or whether he deliberately planned these irregularities. It is very difficult to believe that the latter alternative was the case, and there is strong evidence pointing to the former. Those who adhere to the west-to-east theory give as an explanation that the new structure had to be adjusted to the foundations. Since this argument is not valid (as demonstrated above, p. 38) there is no other explanation except that the construction of the cathedral was begun from the east, that the master had designed a complete plan providing for the equal spacing of piers along the nave, but that he met with an obstacle when he reached the third bay counting from the west. This obstacle, according to Kunze, was the decision to keep the old façade with its two towers.¹⁸

We are so accustomed to the present façade, so full of admiration for the harmony of its parts, stylistically very different, that we shudder at the idea that it might have been destroyed even in the interest of producing a regular composition. An architect, however, as progressive as the master of Chartres, must certainly have shuddered far more at the prospect of having to preserve so old-fashioned a structure, though in his day, since the flamboyant upper part of the northern tower had not yet been added, it looked somewhat more homogeneous.¹⁹ The hypothesis of Kunze that the architect intended to build a new façade to accord with the High Gothic style of about 1200 is very probable. We can well imagine that there were hot debates and that the master passed many anxious days and sleepless nights before he was finally forced to give in to the clergy and to accept the limitations of time and money. Already he had been forced to compromise in erecting the choir and once again he solved the new problem in the best possible way.

The parts of the cathedral are interdependent. Therefore they must all be studied before a final judgment of the two opposing theories can be reached. Yet here already it can be said that if the west-to-east theory were correct, the first step, that of chiseling away parts of the towers, would have been a negative one. To begin at the east was not simple, but at least nothing had to be demolished, except perhaps remnants of the eastern chapels.²⁰

3. THE WORK OF MASTER A

As regards the intention of the first master, it is clear that he envisaged a Gothic choir with an unbroken row of seven chapels alternating in form. He had to preserve the choir of the crypt with its ambulatory and its three chapels with their parallel side walls and semicircular endings which are very deep and are separated from one another. He opened the circular wall of the ambulatory between the three chapels and also those at both corners, thus giving access to additional chapels shorter than the older ones and ending in a wall, segmental in ground plan.

18. Hans Kunze, *Das Fassadenproblem der französischen Früh- und Hochgotik* (Diss., Strasbourg) Leipzig, 1912, p. 31n.

19. Albert Mayeux, *La façade de la cathédrale de Chartres du X^e au XIII^e siècle*, Chartres, 1900, *Extrait des Comptes-rendus*, shows the stages of the façade in the years 1134-1194 in figs. 8 and 9 on p. 12.

20. The stained glass named *Notre-Dame de la belle verrière*, now in the second window of the southern forechoir

(Delaporte no. 14), survived the fire of 1194. Therefore it may be guessed that it was in the central chapel of the Romanesque church, protected by its vault. The picture of the Virgin certainly belonged to this place. A new stained glass similar to this old one but bigger was put into the central window of the clearstory in the Gothic apse. If the hypothesis that the Romanesque central chapel survived the fire together with the stained glass (of no. 14) is right, it would have had to be pulled down after June 11, 1194.

The best way to describe the differences may be to number the seven chapels from I to VII. The old chapels will then be numbers II, IV, and VI and the new ones I, III, V, and VII (text fig. 1).

To support the upper part of the choir the walls of II, IV, VI were reenforced by a wall about seven feet thick, concentric with the old wall (Fig. 11). The new walls of the odd-numbered chapels were given the same thickness. The old chapels had one window on each side which now opened into the interior of the new chapels, and three windows in the apses. Master A preserved these windows in the apses, arranging openings (without glass) in the reenforcing wall according to their original axes. He varied the distribution of windows according to the differing widths of the chapels, arranging three windows in chapels I and VII, but only two in chapels III and V. The old chapels retained their Romanesque groin vaults, while the new ones received rib vaults of six and five severies respectively.

Two observations are important. First, the centers of the segmental endings in the new chapels were deliberately designed to provide I and VII with a greater radius (about 5 m) than III and V (about 3.25 m).

The second point concerns the exterior. On all seven chapels the socle, as well as the cornice, is circular in plan, while the walls themselves are polygonal (Figs. 12, 15). The transition from the straight surfaces to the circular lines below and above is curved and chiseled empirically. Of course only these transitions had to be adjusted; the straight parts were normal mason work from the beginning.

Apses of polygonal form are to be found as far back as Early Christian and Byzantine times, while in the Romanesque style round apses were preferred. During the Gothic period, polygonal apses were re-introduced in order to achieve conformity with the plane surfaces of the glass in the windows. The disparity between the plane glass and the cylindrical wall is best seen in St.-Denis. Polygonal apses were introduced in the side chapels and in the original main apsis in Laon, as it stood prior to 1200.²¹ The combination of polygonal walls and round cornices below and above indicates a lack of clear thinking on the part of Master A.

What this master intended to build above this supplemented crypt choir is not known. Any attempt to continue the axes of the windows would have led to a disposition different from that which we see today. We must therefore conclude that the present upper part was designed by a second master.

It is widely supposed that the building of the reenforcements and the new parts, including the foundation, was a very long and extraordinarily difficult process. This cannot be so. After the fire only a small amount of wreckage would have fallen outside at the east end. If parts of the eastern chapels were saved from the fire, their demolition did not take long. The excavation of the ditch would have required only a few weeks. The construction of the foundations and of the other parts would have been finished in one or two years, either in 1195 or 1196.

It is obvious that the plan of Master A did not satisfy the clergy. In defense of Master A it must be said that the seven chapels of alternating form would have been most interesting and vivacious. Some of this vivacity is still preserved in the present choir, at least outside. In the interior we receive an impression of regularity because the remaining irregularities are rendered innocuous. If Master A had planned the choir in its present form, he might at least have arranged the windows of chapels I and VII to correspond with those above. That this is not the case proves that

21. Hanna Adenauer, *Die Kathedrale von Laon*, Düsseldorf, 1934, p. 19, and figs. 2 and 3, where the original apse is reconstructed. Its foundation, excavated in 1857 by Bös-willwald, was semicircular in form. Possibly the lower part of the apse up to the window sills was also round (as in Soissons and elsewhere) but Adenauer's reconstruction of a polygon beginning at the bottom is supported by the same

form in both eastern chapels of the transept. A footnote points also to the fact that the chapel of the bishop's palace in Laon has a polygonal apse, built between 1155 and 1174. Possibly this building was begun before the cathedral because it still has groin vaults in its lower floor, cf. *Congr. arch. tenue 1911 à Reims*, Paris et Caen, 1912, I, p. 220.

a new master was engaged. Let us hope that by this time Master A was dead, so that he was not made jealous by his greater successor.

4. THE WORK OF MASTER B

Certainly the new master did not develop his ideas only after his arrival on the scene. In all probability he was acquainted with Notre Dame in Paris, where flying buttresses had been introduced, and was ready to carry this development further by omitting the gallery and enlarging the windows in order to provide larger surfaces for stained glass. When the opportunity to realize this idea presented itself, he found himself confronted with unexpected difficulties, being forced to use the walls erected at the east end of the crypt by Master A.

In designing the ground plan and the elevation for the choir, he had first to draw the cross section of the forechoir and nave, in order to determine the breadth of the whole building and the distances between the piers from north to south. The double ambulatory, already foreseen by Master A had to be adjusted to the dimensions of the forechoir and the side aisles of the nave (text fig. 1). To fix the locations of the choir piers it was necessary to determine the exact place of the crossing, which was to be about 41 feet on the E-W axis by 50 feet on the N-S axis (measuring from the pier centers). The main problem, however, was the length of the choir, which would determine the limit of the crossing. The bays of the forechoir are not equal. The third and fourth are 21 feet deep, the second is more, and the first less. These irregularities are connected with problems of partitioning the transept arms, which Kunze has discussed very cleverly. Here it is sufficient to mention these problems without entering into details.²² It is only important to make it plain that the master had to make the sketch of the crossing and forechoir before he could turn to the main apse, the ambulatories, and its chapels.

He did not space the columns of the ambulatory evenly (Fig. 11). For this he was criticized by Viollet-le-Duc,²³ but Mayeux demonstrates convincingly that he is to be admired for finding this solution under such difficult circumstances. It may be added that Mayeux is also to be admired for the accuracy of his delineations and for his exact interpretation of them.²⁴ He clearly outlines the logical steps in the geometric construction, the way in which the piers and walls below were used for the columns above in order to achieve regularity in the seven chapels, as far as this was still possible.

The main apse is supported by columns standing on a common step semicircular in plan. The columns between the two ambulatories and the step leading into the chapels also form half circles. The upper part of the apse, however, and of the chapels above the window sills is polygonal (Fig. 15). It was a period when the polygon seems only to have been allowed for the parts where the windows begin. The linking together of seven chapels along a semicircular line ensured an impression of regularity. In order to relate the chapels radially to the main apse, Master B had to find centers for chapels I and VII other than those used by Master A below. He ordered five windows for the main chapels II, IV, VI, three windows for I and VII, and two for III and V. Thus the windows created an effect of regularity in the most conspicuous parts of the whole church.

22. I thank Mr. Yves Delaporte, *chanoine* of Chartres Cathedral for having given me the information that the length of the foot in Chartres was 0.324849 m, according to Benoît, *Anciennes mesures usitées à Chartres*, Chartres, 1843; one foot was the sixth part of one *toise*, i.e., 1.949036 m. Probably the measurements of the cathedral can be partly expressed in *toises*, e.g., the socles of the piers seem to be two *toises* broad (ca. 2.90 m). The choice of the location of the crossing and its measurements (10 x 12 *toises*) could probably be explained combining the theory of Kunze (*op.cit.*) with the exact measurement of the crypt by Mayeux. It would be in-

teresting to study to what extent 6-foot rods (ca. 1.95 m) or 7-foot rods (ca. 2.27 m) were employed in determining proportions, but this would require lengthy experiments in the cathedral itself. (The reinforcing walls of the crypt are 7 feet, the length of the bays in the choir, 3' x 7'.)

23. Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française*, Paris, 1868, I, p. 235.

24. Albert Mayeux, "Étude sur l'abside de la cathédrale de Chartres," *Mémoires de la Soc. archéol. d'Eure-et-Loir*, XIII, Chartres, 1904, pp. 49ff.

For the outside this disposition meant that some of the buttresses stand above the openings below—a horrible sight for a master striving for a regular and reasonable structure (Figs. 5, 12, 14). None the less, the main forms of the choir also give an impression of regularity. This choir has even been called the most beautiful of all Gothic cathedrals, a statement, however, which applies to the upper part rather than to the lower.²⁵

One of the problems to be solved was that of finding a transition from the round cornices below to the polygonal structure above. This has been managed differently in each of the different kinds of chapel. In I and VII a conical roof of stone has been erected on the round cornice. Because the center of the upper chapel is not exactly above that of the chapel below, the line of intersection of the cone with the parapets of the windows is not horizontal, but forms a rising curve (Figs. 5, 14). For chapels II and VI, the master designed a dwarf gallery, having straight architraves upon short columns inside of which is a conical roof of stone (Figs. 5, 12, 15). Similar forms may be seen in the other chapels. Whenever Chartres Cathedral is praised as a masterpiece of High Gothic, these particular aspects are passed over in silence.

In choosing between the west-to-east and east-to-west theories, one must bear in mind the fact that the difficulties in erecting the foundations, which constitute one of the chief arguments in favor of the first theory, are confined entirely to the lower part, the work of Master A. As has already been said, this work might perhaps have been finished within two years. A solution of the difficulties created for the upper part took time, but, so to speak, only on parchment. Once Master B had made up his mind, he could begin at the level above the chapels of the crypt.

This poses further problems since the level of the pavement of the cathedral is not the same throughout. In the first bay of the nave the level of the northern side aisle is four steps higher than that of the nave; in the southern, only two steps. Houvet wrote that many pilgrims slept overnight in the cathedral and that the pavement then had to be washed. To facilitate the cleaning a reservoir was installed in the north tower and the water could run down the northern side aisle through the ambulatory to the southern side aisle.²⁶ This, however, is not borne out by the present situation, as far as one can judge without instruments.

The longitudinal section in the publication of Lassus and Duval (Fig. 4) shows four steps leading from the nave to the northern aisle in the first bay, then only three steps in the second and third bays followed by two, and so on, until in the transept the level is equalized. If this drawing is exact, it proves that the floor of the northern side aisle is horizontal while that of the nave rises from the western entrance door to the crossing. As the level of the first (western) bay of the south aisle is only two steps higher than the floor of the nave, either the nave rises from north to south as well as from west to east, or the floor of the southern side aisle is lower than that of the northern at this spot and then rises toward the east. Still more difficult to judge is the situation in the forechoir and ambulatory. Some of the socles of the columns in the forechoir are sunk into the pavement,²⁷ the floor has been raised here, but we do not know when this happened. Connected with these observations is the fact that above the entrance to the crypt on the southern exterior two courses of stone dating from the Gothic campaign have been added above the old Romanesque molding (Fig. 5). Above these two courses is a Gothic molding which is the continuation of that of the eastern chapels. One may expect that it marks the level of the floor in the Gothic chapels, but this is, according to Mayeux's drawing, about three feet below that

25. Georg Dehio, *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, II, Stuttgart, 1901, p. 120. However, Dehio, who hated all flying buttresses, praised those of Chartres "insofar as the exterior aspect suffers less from the hypertrophy of flying buttresses than, e.g., Amiens, Beauvais, and Cologne, with their chaos (*Wirrwarr*) of intersecting lines."

26. Étienne Houvet, *Monographie de la cathédrale de*

Chartres, p. 4, at the end of the "Historique de la Cathédrale."

27. See the photograph of one base of the forechoir in Delaporte, *La cathédrale de Chartres . . .*, Paris, 1943, p. 31. Also, Émile Mâle, *Notre-Dame de Chartres*, Paris, 1948, pl. 111, to be compared with the high socles of the columns in the ambulatory in pl. 110.

molding.²⁸ In the southern forechoir where it joins the transept, the floor is very irregular. The pavement was always laid after everything else was finished. In Chartres this means the year 1220, at least for the choir and the nave, as at both ends of the transept work still continued. In the choir the present floor dates from 1763. If we remember that the floor in the western towers again is deeper than in the nave, the whole situation seems so confused that it would be hazardous to use any of these irregularities (including the two layers above the entrance to the crypt) as argument for the chronology of the building. The differences of level go back partly to the predecessors of the Gothic building. The level at the western entrance was given by the *portail*, that of the ambulatory by the vaults of the crypt. Some irregularities may have been caused by lack of exact instruments for measuring. All these observations do not prove the east-to-west theory, but at least they do not contradict it.

To summarize: first the eastern end of the crypt was remodeled by Master A, then Master B built up the choir, together with the chapels, the ambulatories and the forechoir. It remains to be considered whether the work continued in the transept or in the nave.

While an interruption is strikingly visible between the west towers and the nave, no interruption has been found up to now between the nave and the transepts, nor between the transept and the choir.

Everywhere the forms of the elevation, the details of the bases, capitals, and profiles, are nearly the same. Differences in the number of the openings in the triforia were the result of the different distances between the piers. It appears that in general a single master directed the construction of the entire part of the High Gothic building. Those who believed in the west-to-east theory were compelled to invent the thesis that the transept was left out at first and fitted in afterwards when nave and choir were finished, because the idea of a provisional choir had forced them into the hypothesis that the construction of the permanent choir had to be accelerated. Since the master began with the erection of the central chapel, there was no reason for him to have skipped the transept. Rather it must be taken for granted that the erection of the transept followed immediately that of the choir. If the report that the church was vaulted in 1220 is accepted, then the façades of the transept must at least have been built up to the point where the vaults behind them could be webbed. According to Kunze, the elevation of both façades has been changed; he does not say when.²⁹ Stylistically the roses of the transept arms are more advanced than the western oculus, showing that tracery was already known, while the rose of the west front clings to some extent to the older form: partly of pierced plates, partly suggesting the wheel. Kunze's theories concerning the southern and northern façades may become more plausible if we suppose that they remained unfinished and were continued only after the completion of the western façade and possibly after the death of Master B.³⁰ If at the beginning of his work, about 1195, he was 40 years old, his age in 1220 would have been about 65. Calculations of this kind make the historic situation more vivid for our imagination, but in this case they prove nothing. In this connection, however, it may now be understandable that the expensiveness of the southern and northern façade was an argument for preserving the old parts of the western façade and for adding there only the oculus and the gable.

5. THE WORK OF MASTER C

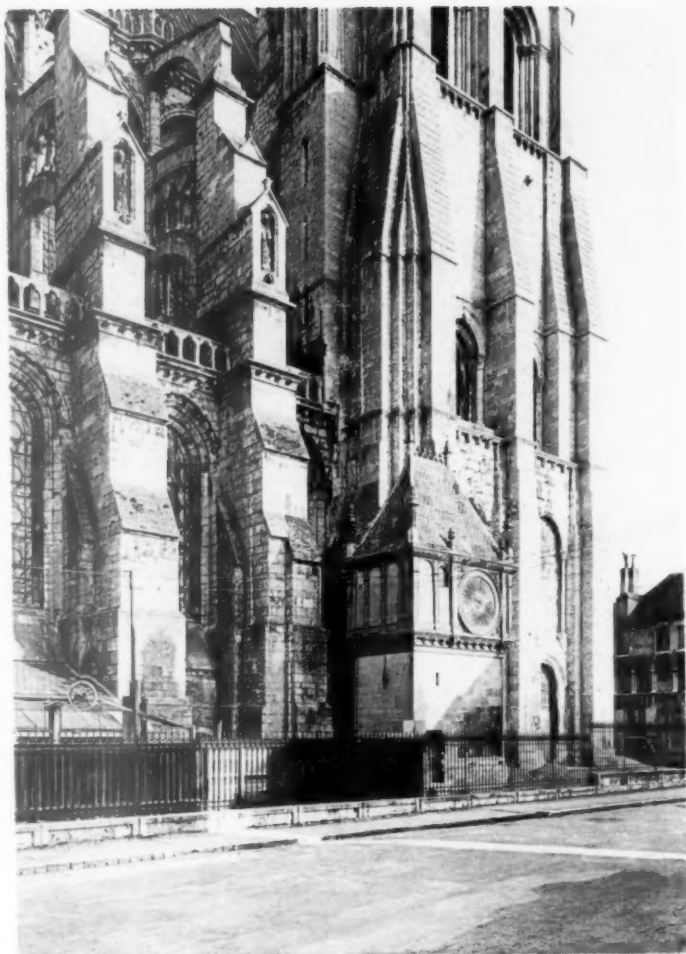
The stained glass of the southern façade of the transept dates from about 1225: the painting took approximately four years to execute. The form of the windows, therefore, must have been designed about 1221. The stained glass of the northern façade of the transept was dated by

28. Albert Mayeux, *op.cit.*, pl. after p. 52.

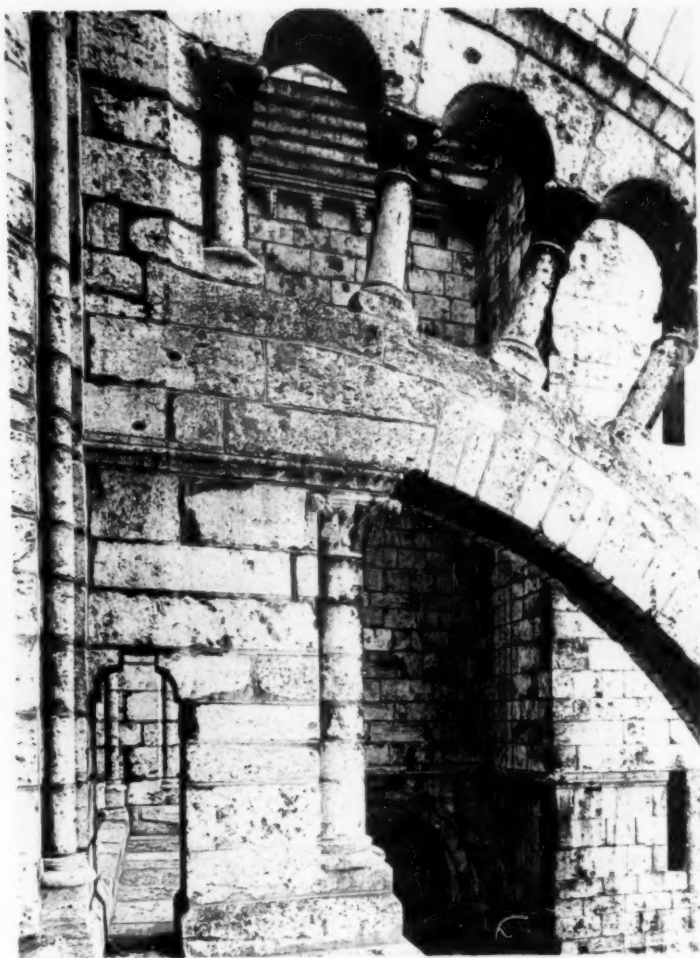
29. Kunze, *op.cit.*, p. 31.

30. The hypothesis that the design of the northern windows

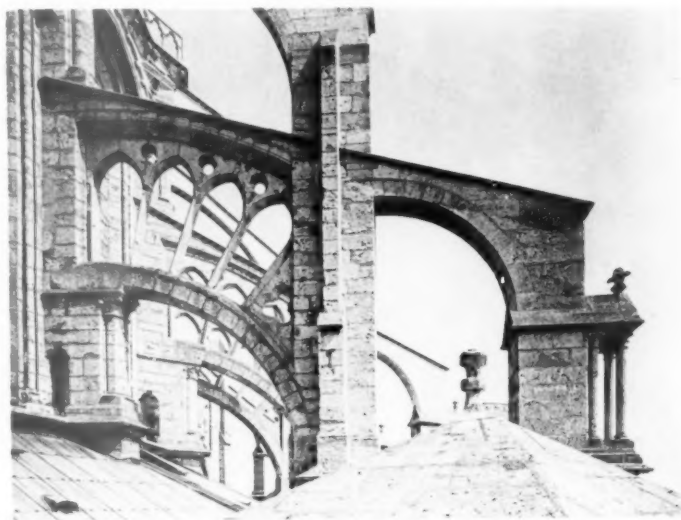
of the transept was ready for the painter of the stained glass coincides with the dating of the western oculus about 1220.



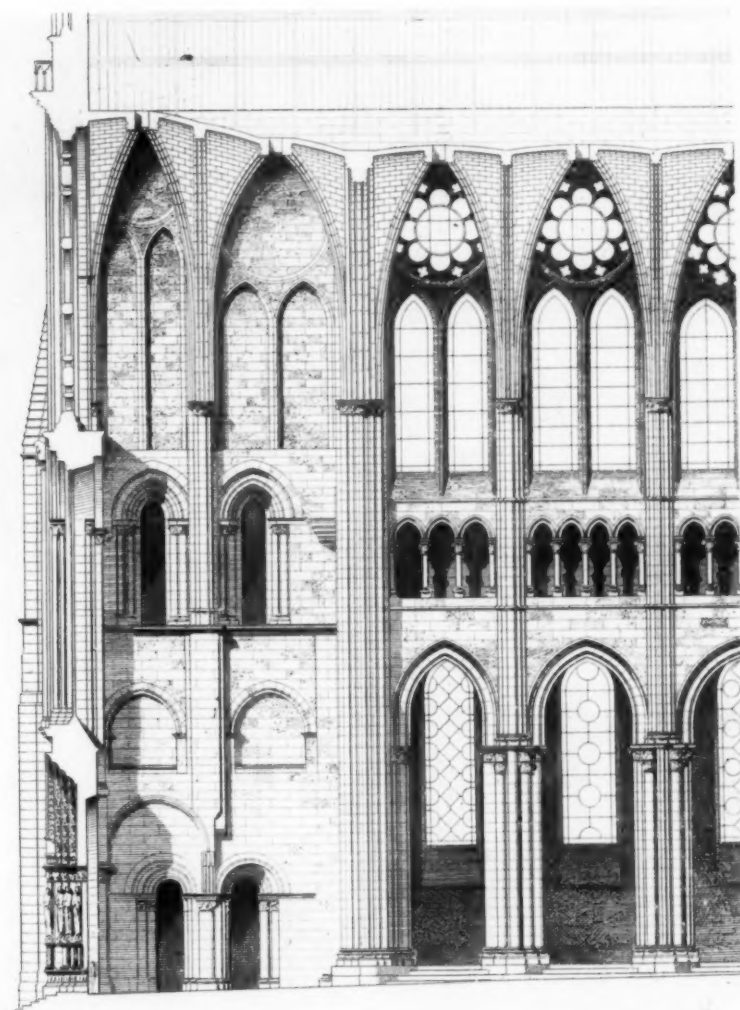
1. Chartres, Cathedral, buttresses of the north side and western tower



2. Chartres, Cathedral, nave buttress (detail)
(photo: Marburg)



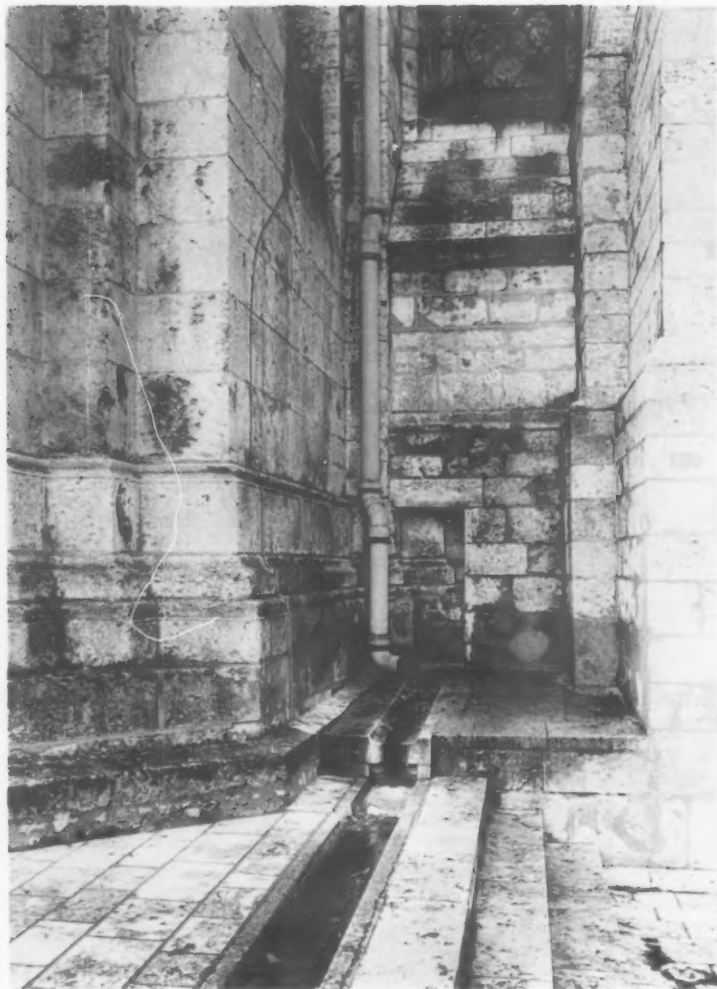
3. Chartres, Cathedral, flying buttress, choir (detail)
(photo: Marburg)



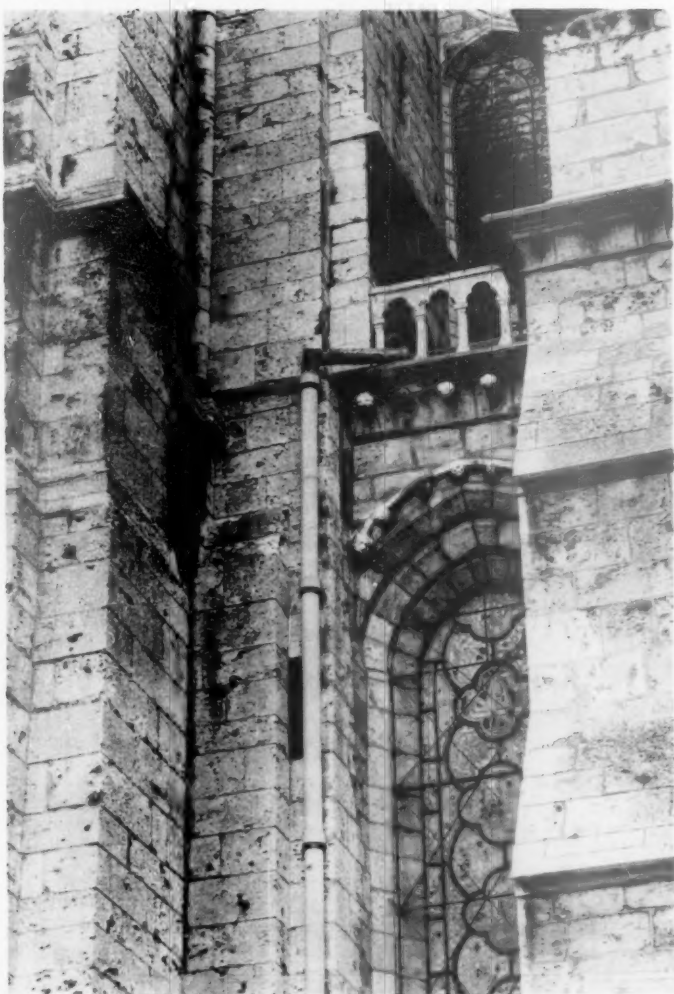
4. Chartres, Cathedral, longitudinal section, western bays
of north side. (After Lassus and Duval)



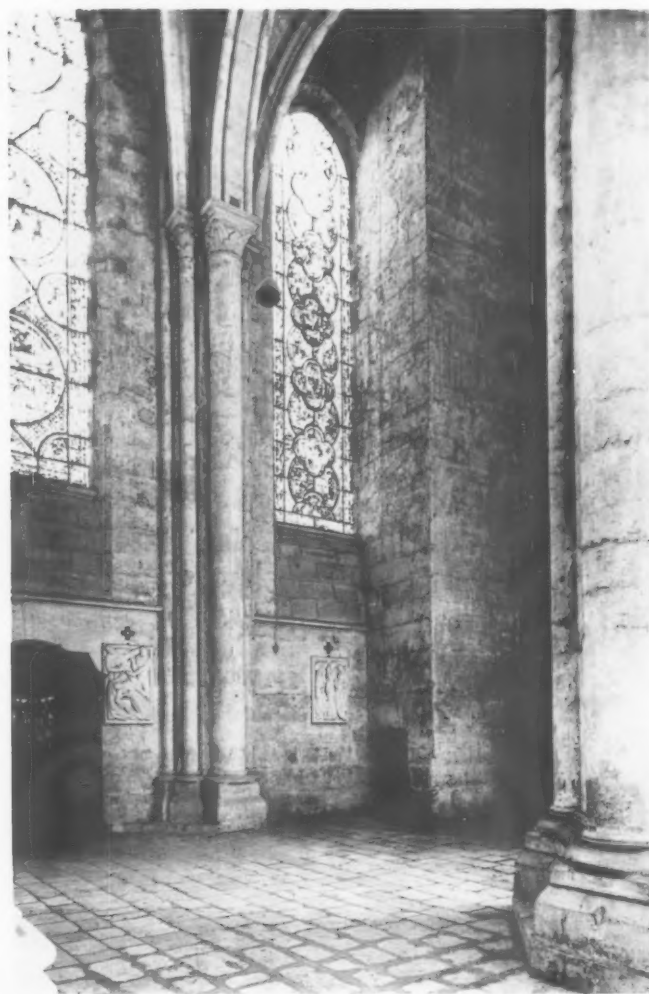
5. Chartres, Cathedral, forechoir and chapels (Nos. VII, VI), south side



6. Chartres, Cathedral, remnant of the eastern buttress of the southwest tower



7. Chartres, Cathedral, first window of the southern side aisle of the nave, exterior



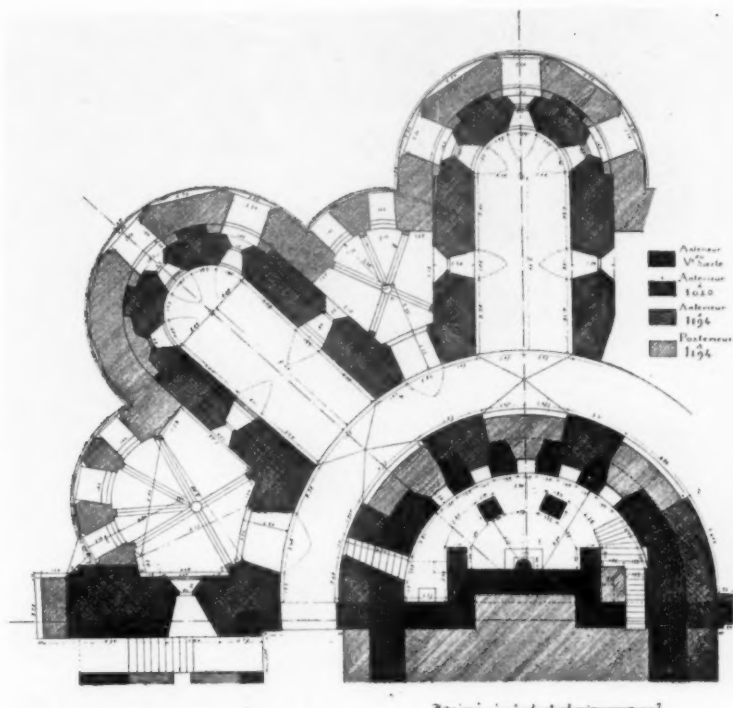
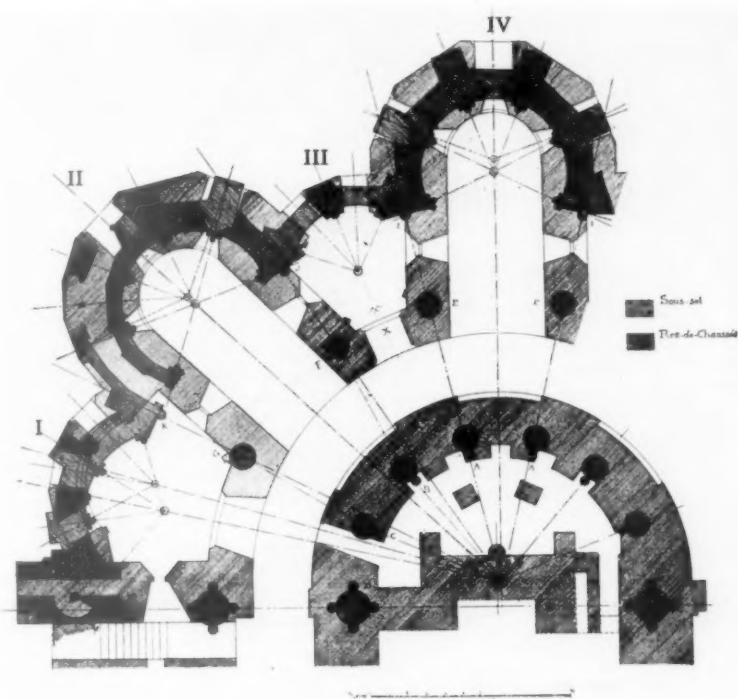
8. Chartres, Cathedral, first window of the southern side aisle of the nave, interior



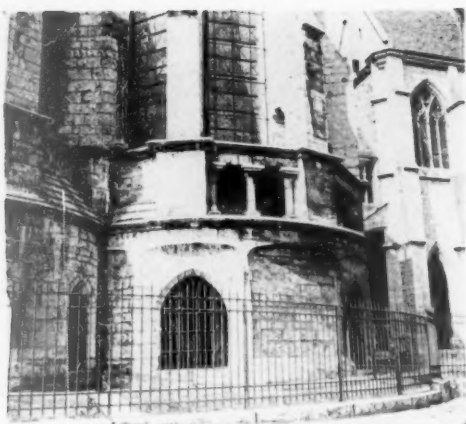
9. Chartres, Cathedral, first window of the northern side aisle of the nave, exterior, lower part



10. Chartres, Cathedral, first window of the northern side aisle of the nave, exterior, upper part



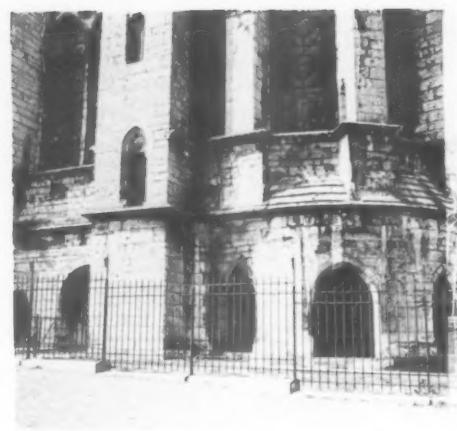
11. Chartres, Cathedral, apse plan: at crypt level (left); at choir level (right). (After Mayeux)



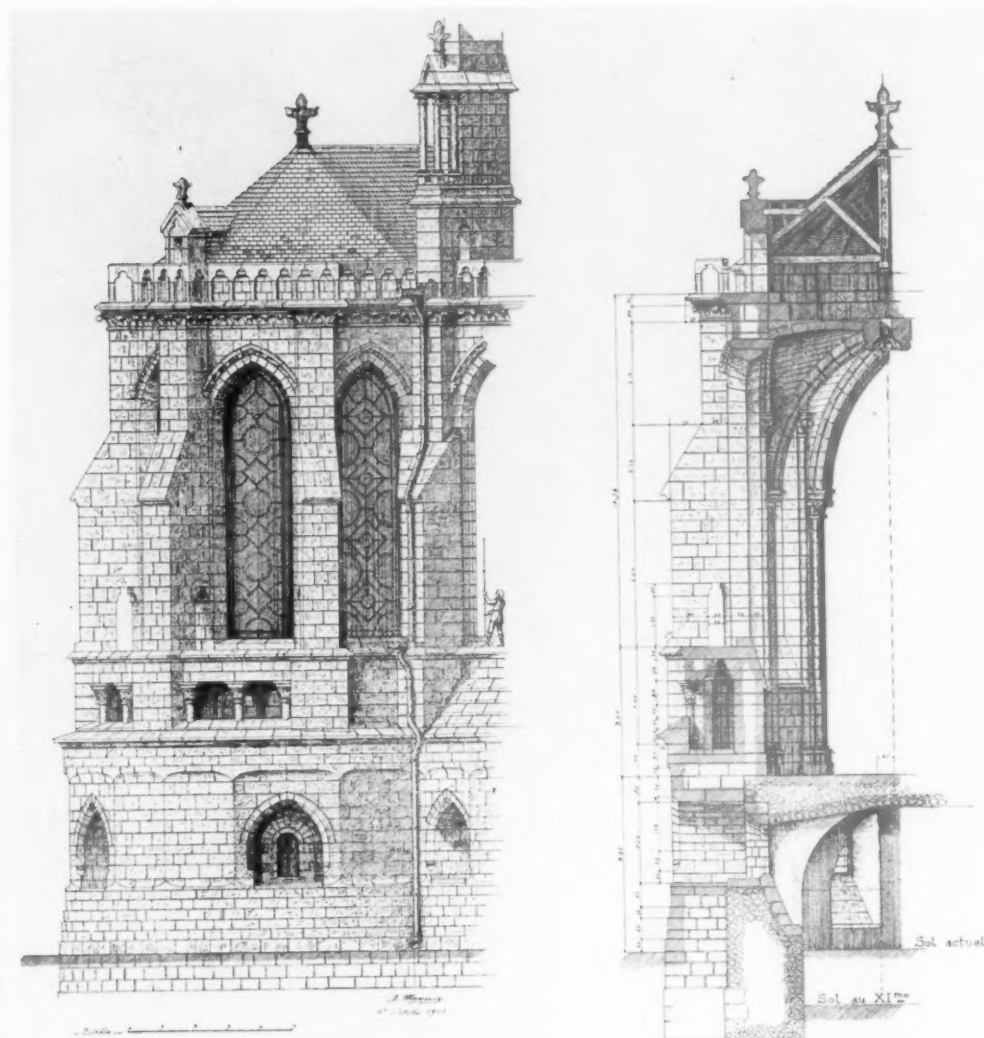
12. Chartres, Cathedral, chapel (No. VI), exterior (photo: Rifaux, Grenoble)



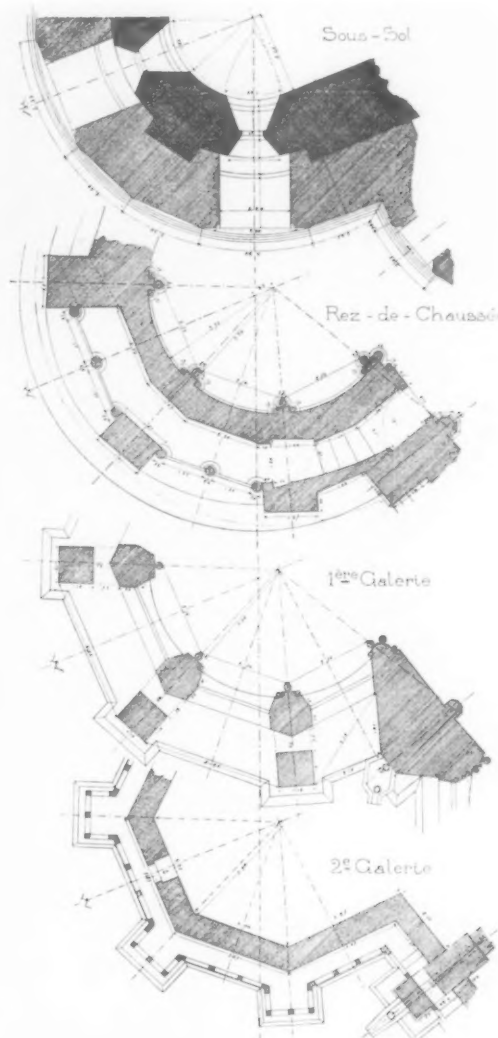
13. Chartres, Cathedral, northern porch (detail) with statue bases here attributed to Master C (photo: Marburg)



14. Chartres, Cathedral, chapel (No. VII), exterior (photo: Rifaux, Grenoble)



15. Chartres, Cathedral, chapel (No. II or VI). Elevation, section, and plans of the four different levels. (After Mayeux)



Delaporte between 1223 and 1234,³¹ and again took about four years to execute. If the structure was finished by 1220, the stained glass could have been ordered by Louis VIII (1223-1226) and Queen Blanche of Castile immediately after their accession to the throne, and finished by 1227. This calculation, though by no means exact, raises doubts concerning Kunze's statement that the roses were changed. It suggests rather that the whole building was finished about 1223. At that time it had the original flying buttresses around the choir, probably built like those in the nave, the transept was without porches, and there was only a single portal at the north.

The addition of the porches led to changes in the façades. These additions and changes, by reason of their form, appear to be the work of a third master. Grodecki has analyzed these parts in an illuminating and convincing way.³² One remark only may be added. In the northern porch the supports of the outermost statues consist of different members placed one upon the other (Fig. 13). Above the polygonal socle is a base formed like a kind of capital. Then comes a high piece decorated with figures in niches with trefoil arches. The next piece is thinner and bears a ring shaped like a twisted chord. Only then does the support end in a capital.³³ These forms, like many others invented by Master C, are highly fanciful, but to some extent they violate common sense, as here, for example, where a supporting member looks more like a capital than like a base. Such transplantations and irregularities are characteristic of those phases which are called manneristic, or better, acyristic.³⁴

Master C may have been a pupil of Master B, but he was unwilling to adhere to the classic simplicity of his teacher and should be treated in a special monograph.

6. THE ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY

The relative chronology of construction having been established (first the choir, then the transept, and finally the nave), it remains to be discovered whether approximate dates for each of the three parts can be found. For the answer we must examine the document of 1210.³⁵

It is a report concerning an attack by some citizens upon Dean William, who managed to escape and "ad ecclesiam confugit." His house was defended by his friends, but was severely damaged and some persons on both sides were wounded. The house was connected with the cloister which is supposed to have been at the north side of the cathedral. After this "sacrilege," the populace was excluded from services, the offering of the sacrament was restricted, the altar of the Virgin cleared, and the shrines with their relics put down on the floor. Also the crucifix hanging or standing above the altar was taken down. The bells were silenced and the *excommunicatio magna* was proclaimed for the whole city.³⁶ God himself intervened with fire, so that the houses of the culprits burned down, while those of the others remained unharmed.³⁷ King Philip-Augustus came to Chartres, observed the damaged house of the Dean "ex gradibus ecclesiae," donated a gift for

31. Yves Delaporte, *op.cit.*, pp. 433 and 498.

32. Grodecki, pp. 159ff.

33. Paul Vitry, *La Sculpture française sous le règne de Saint Louis*, Florence and Paris, 1929, pl. 12. Vitry dates the sculpture "vers 1240."

34. P. Frankl, "The 'Crazy' Vaults of Lincoln Cathedral," *ART BULLETIN*, LIII, 1953, p. 95 and especially p. 105.

35. E. de Lépinos and Lucien Merlet, *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, Chartres, 1863, II, pp. 56-62.

36. *ibid.*, pp. 57f.: "Cessatum est igitur in ecclesia Beate-Marie penitus, et in ceteris similiter ecclesiis seu monasteriis in Carnotensi banleuga constitutis, excepto quod solis presbiteris parrochialibus permissum est missas aliquando, clausis januis, exclusis laicis, voce submissa et humili, et sine cantus modulatione, celebrare, ad conservandas scilicet hostias que in necessitatis articulo nullis sunt penitentibus denegandæ; cetera vero sacramenta fuerunt penitus denegata, preter baptismum parvulorum, quod etiam non in ecclesiis, sed extra ecclesias,

utpote in capitellis, fieri concessum est. Denudatum est etiam altare Beate-Marie, et sacrosanctum scrinium ab altari depositum, et inferius ante altare positum est, non equidem super pavimentum, sed sicut poni solet a die Cene passionis dominice; capse vero Sanctorum reliquias continentes similiter deposite, et inferius, ante sacrosanctum scrinium, super pavimentum collocatae sunt; imago quoque Crucifixi ab alto deposita est, et ante capsas super pavimentum chori deposita. Statutum est etiam a Capitulo ut sacerdotes ecclesie ejusdem, singulis diebus, pulpitu ascendentes, in memoratos sacrilegos excommunicationis sententiam, et ejusdem horrende maledictionis, que *excommunicatio magna* dicitur, verba proferrent, accensis candellis, et pulsatis eadem hora, non tam ejus ecclesie quam ceterarum ecclesiarum, campanis. Campanam vero, que singulis noctibus, etiam tempore interdicti, ad horam que vulgo *ignitiegium* appellatur, pulsari solet, hujus interdicti tempore pulsari prohibitum est."

37. *ibid.*, p. 58.

the continuation of the cathedral, nominated judges to investigate the crime, and departed after only one hour.³⁸ The punishment of the malefactors was not in keeping with the Sermon on the Mount. They were required to march out nude with whips in hands (*virgas portantes in manibus*) before the assembled citizenry. After the procession they were whipped in front of the altar of the Virgin.³⁹

In this report it is stated that the crucifix was laid on the floor of the choir (*imago quoque Crucifixi ab alto deposita est, et ante capsas super pavimentum chori deposita*). Lefèvre-Pontalis and his followers interpret *chorus* as the supposed provisional choir. The editors of the text, however, added a footnote: "This crucifix was that which, according to the decrees of councils, was placed above the entrance of the choir."⁴⁰ Even the crossing therefore may have been in use in 1210 as well as the choir itself.

The report says furthermore that the king observed the home of the Dean "from the steps of the church." Grodecki wrote: "It is impossible to deduce from this text that in 1210 stairs led to the present portals of the transept, and that the porches themselves were completed or under construction, as Medding and H. Bunjes would have it."⁴¹ Steps of the church can mean only steps either to the western entrance or to the northern or southern transepts. The cloister was certainly not at the west; it was probably at the north.⁴² If the king observed the cloister from the steps, he could only have walked out from the transept. This does not mean that the transept or its northern wing was completed, but it does mean that it was under construction.

Concerning the portals and their statues, nothing can be deduced, but to say with Grodecki that it is impossible to deduce that the transept was under construction would need some explanation. The more so as Grodecki himself, a few lines later, says that the completion of the transept façades must be dated between 1210 and 1220. And he is still more specific: "the foundations of the transept were laid . . . before 1210." "The terminal wall of the southern transept wing was constructed certainly a few years before 1217-1220." Does this mean 1215 or 1214, or even earlier? The side portals of the northern façade were constructed later than the southern façade; indeed the northern façade itself—in its original form with only a single portal—existed even before the southern façade was begun. This would mean, perhaps, before 1215 or 1214. It is possible, therefore to imagine that in 1210 the steps to the northern transept arm existed, whether or not the lower part of the façade itself had been constructed.

The whole analysis of the portals, porches, and upper parts of the two façades presented by Grodecki merely confirms the east-to-west theory.⁴³

The chronology of the construction of Chartres Cathedral may be approximately the following:

1194 destruction of the Romanesque church

1195 reenforcement of the three chapels II, IV, VI (of the crypt), and addition of the chapels I, III, V, VII (of the crypt) by Master A

1196-1210 the apse, choir, and transept by Master B

38. *ibid.*, p. 59: "In sequenti namque hebdomada, peregrinationis causa, Carnotensem visitavit ecclesiam, et, cum signa desolationis in eadem perspexisset ecclesia, sub sacrosancto scrinio devote et humiliter transitum faciens, pannum sericum ad ornatum ecclesie decentissimum obtulit, et ducentas libras parisienses ad opus edificationis ejusdem ecclesie contulit. Ad videndum quoque domum decani et notanda sepefati sacrilegii signa exire dignatus est: qui, ex gradibus ecclesie, frontem ejusdem domus, partim securibus violatam, partim lapidibus concassatam, prospiciens, domum illam, que sic violata fuerat, depredatam fuisse minime dubitavit; in eadem vero civitate morari diutius noluit, sed, tanquam cives sacrilegos devitaret, vix horę unius ibi morulam faciens, reditum maturavit; tribus tamen ex suis militibus, viris fidelibus et prudentissimis, imperavit quatinus, ibidem remanentes, rei veritatem per testes,

tam ex parte Capituli quam ex parte adversa, producendos inquirerent; quibus diligentius examinatis, eorum attestaciones scriptas et consignatas ad ipsum referrent: diem quoque certam utrique parti prefixit, in qua Perisius super iisdem attestacionibus iudicii sui proferret sententiam."

39. *ibid.*, pp. 61f.

40. *ibid.*, p. 57n: "Ce crucifix était celui qui, suivant les décrets des conciles, était placé au-dessus de l'entrée du chœur. Plusieurs des cérémonies de l'office divin ne pouvaient s'accomplir que devant ce crucifix."

41. Grodecki, p. 156 n. 5.

42. As suggested by Mr. Grodecki in conversation with me.

43. He dates the porches after 1224, and the remodeling of the upper part of the southern transept "at the end of the first third of the thirteenth century."

1210-1220 the nave, including the upper part of the West façade, and the vaults between the western towers by Master B

1224-ca. 1230 the transept porches by Master C

ca. 1230 the upper parts of the façades of both arms of the transepts remodeled by Master C

1316 in consequence of the expertise, renovation of the vault in the crossing and replacement of the flying buttresses of the choir.⁴⁴

7. CONCLUSION

In the light of the preceding investigations, the following questions may be asked of the supporters of the west-to-east theory:

1) Is it probable that the first step after the fire of 1194 was to add onto the western towers blind windows intended to align the towers with a clearstory that did not yet exist?

2) Is it probable that the second step was to chisel away parts of the buttresses of the western towers to achieve additional room that nevertheless was still insufficient for the westernmost window of the southern aisle? Was no other solution possible in view of the fact that there was free space behind the towers?

3) Was it really impossible to build totally new foundations for the nave piers without regard for the old foundations, and to space the new piers evenly?

4) If the architect at the same time reenforced the crypt walls and added new chapels between the old ones, why did he not align—at least in chapels I and VII—the axes of the crypt windows with those above, to avoid placing buttresses over openings?

5) If the same architect was building simultaneously from east and west, how much time did he take to finish the seven crypt chapels so that services could be held there?

6) Was a provisional choir necessary, assuming that every effort would have been made to secure an early completion of the seven altars?

Most pilgrims and tourists who visit Chartres year after year to worship and to admire do not care whether the cathedral was built from west to east or the reverse. Even scholars may doubt the importance of the question, particularly since the whole process took place over a period of only 26 years. Yet a small circle of specialists is eager to discover the truth and to establish the facts with accuracy. It is now up to the party of the "west-to-east" theory to refute the statements and arguments brought forward in this article. The decision as to which of the two theories is correct regarding the architecture will supply the basis for a similar decision regarding the chronology of the stained glass. The real value of such investigations is that they enable one to become more and more familiar with all aspects of this work of great genius, which can never be sufficiently admired.

Scholarship is a matter of teamwork and advances are made by trial and error. Any theory, such as those concerning the chronology of the parts of Chartres Cathedral is always presented with the qualifying phrase: if I am not mistaken. It is never intended as an attack upon those who disagree. Let us remember the words of Aristotle "*amicus mihi Plato, sed magis amica veritas.*"⁴⁵ In free translation: it is not *who* is right that is important, but *what* is right.

PRINCETON, N.J.

44. Later changes such as the chapel of St. Piat, that of the Bourbons, etc., need not be mentioned here.

45. *Nicomachean Ethics* i. 4.



AN EARLY ALTARPIECE BY LORENZO MONACO*

MARVIN J. EISENBERG

ALTHOUGH the mature works of Lorenzo Monaco offer the quintessential Florentine statement of the Florentine International Style, the early stages of his art emerge more particularly from the complex network of stylistic traditions of the waning Trecento. These are beginnings that are gaining definition only gradually, for a lack of documentation and a paucity of clearly attributable works continue to impede the study of Lorenzo's youthful career.¹ Thus, any single addition to his early oeuvre contributes significantly to a conception of his first artistic efforts, while the discovery even of several mature works would probably do little to enhance or alter our idea of his developed style.

A triptych (Fig. 1) in the Biblioteca Comunale at Pescia is a work from the hand of the youthful Lorenzo Monaco that until now has neither been reproduced nor received more than passing mention.² The altarpiece was listed in Stiavelli's summary of works of art in the region of the Val di Nievole, although without attribution or analysis, and more recently Pudelko attributed it to Lorenzo Monaco in a note to his fine essay on the evolution of the painter's style.³ However, in the *Mostra d'arte sacra*, held in Pistoia in 1950, the altarpiece was exhibited as a Giottesque work of the mid-fourteenth century.⁴ Considering both its relatively large size and intrinsic quality, the Pescia triptych is worthy of estimation along with Lorenzo's major works from the last decade of the Trecento, the *Agony in the Garden* in the Academy in Florence, and the *Madonnas* in Bologna and Amsterdam.⁵

The central panel of the altarpiece presents the Virgin in three-quarter length carrying the Child, who lifts one hand in the gesture of benediction and clutches a goldfinch in the other. A sensitive variety of organization and expression has been effected by echoing the slightly turned stance of the Madonna in the placement of the St. Peter, thereby establishing a contrast with the frontal pose and resultantly more aloof role of the youthful St. Sebastian. The quietly imposing dignity of the Madonna and two Saints is conveyed by a breadth of contour and a plastic vitality enforced by the pliant drapery and the constriction of the bulk of the figures

* My research in Italy on Lorenzo Monaco was made possible by a Faculty Research Grant from the Horace H. Rackham Foundation of the University of Michigan.

1. Since the appearance of Sirén's monograph (*Don Lorenzo Monaco*, Strasbourg, 1905), which presented few early works, numerous attributions have been made to the early phase of Lorenzo's activity. The most recent attempts to expand the early oeuvre were made in an article by the late Hans Gronau ("The Earliest Works of Lorenzo Monaco," *Burlington Magazine*, xcii, July, 1950, pp. 183-188 and August, 1950, pp. 216-222) and in my unpublished doctoral dissertation (*The Origins and Development of the Early Style of Lorenzo Monaco*, Princeton University, 1954). I am currently preparing a monograph on the artist's entire activity. A discussion of the controversial problem of Lorenzo's earliest activity would seem to be beyond the intention of this paper.

2. Tempera on wood. Height of central panel (including frame), 58¾ inches. Width (including frame), 70 inches. The provenance is unknown. This is apparently the work referred to in the inventory of 1786 of the Palazzo Pretorio in Pescia (Manuscript in the Biblioteca Comunale, Pescia):

"Nell'ingresso un quadro incassato nel muro esprimente la SSma Vergine e due altre figure in tavola antica. . . ." I am grateful to Dott. Carlo Magnani, librarian of the Pescia Biblioteca, for assistance in the study of the altarpiece and to Ettore Cortopassi of Lucca for photographic work.

3. C. Stiavelli, *L'arte in Val di Nievole*, Florence, 1905, p. 61, no. 10; G. Pudelko, "The Stylistic Development of Lorenzo Monaco—I," *Burlington Magazine*, LXXIII, December, 1938, p. 237 n. 8.

4. *Catalogo, Mostra d'arte sacra antica*, Pistoia, 1950, no. 86.

5. For a reproduction of the *Agony*, see R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, ix, The Hague, 1927, fig. 117; for the *Madonna* in the Pinacoteca at Bologna, see P. Toesca, "Nuove opere di Lorenzo Monaco," *L'arte*, vii, 1904, p. 172 (Fig. 2 below, a detail of this *Madonna*, is published by courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library); for the *Madonna*, formerly in the Lanz collection and now on loan to the Rijksmuseum from the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, see Van Marle, *op.cit.*, fig. 77.

within the tightly enclosing frames and gold grounds. Contrasting with a gravity of stature and expression is a decorative interplay of rhythmic drapery line and a resonant color scheme whose dominant notes are struck in the deep blue of the Virgin's robe, the creamy white of the Child's tunic, the light rose of St. Sebastian's mantle and St. Peter's apple-green tunic and golden yellow toga. Here already are suggestions of the calligraphy and color chords that will eventually have their fruition, perhaps even their overstatement, in the vermicular linearism and florid palette of Lorenzo's *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Uffizi.⁶

The triptych is in need of thorough cleaning and restoration. Rubbed and scaled areas are particularly evident in the face, hands, and drapery of the Virgin and Child, in the face of St. Sebastian and in St. Peter's book. The lightly stamped gold grounds have suffered considerable deterioration and the original frame has been stripped down to the barest simplicity. On the other hand, there is little evidence of repainting other than the totally inarticulate altering of the left half of the Virgin's face, which has quite drastically changed the shape of the head. Apparently the altarpiece was cleaned and partially restored some time ago, for a yellowing photograph in the files of the Soprintendenza alle Gallerie in Florence shows a far worse condition. Before that mild refurbishing, the panels seem to have been coated with dirt and dense varnishes that reduced the sense of mass and projection of the figures and virtually obscured the stamping of the gold grounds.

Beneath the triptych are a small predella and a low plinth (Fig. 1), neither of which seems to have formed part of the original ensemble, although it is not unlikely that a triptych of this size did at one time have its own predella. The present one contains a series of roundel figures of St. James Major, the Mourning Virgin, Christ as Man of Sorrows, the Mourning St. John, and St. Catherine of Alexandria. Between the roundels is a coat-of-arms or a painted boss, while at either end of the front of the predella appears a remnant of the same geometrical design that frames these ornaments, suggesting that the predella was at one time of greater length and was later cut to fit the triptych.⁷ In spite of the poor condition of the roundel figures, it is possible to assign them to some retardataire master working in the manner of Taddeo Gaddi. But our interest lies more particularly with the triptych above, for both the predella and plinth must be considered as fragments which mere chance has brought into connection with the altarpiece at some unknown time.

The association of the Pescia triptych with the youthful Lorenzo Monaco is readily demonstrated by comparing its total conception and detailed execution with several works that epitomize the early phase of the painter's activity. In the imposing scale of the figures and the dramatic seriousness lent to them by both their size and bulk, the ensemble reveals a distinct expressive kinship with the great Academy *Agony in the Garden*, a prime example of Lorenzo's emerging art and one that we shall return to later for specific comparison. In the way of more detailed analogies, even in their damaged and repainted state the Virgin and Child (Fig. 3) still suggest a relationship with Lorenzo's *Madonnas* in Bologna and Amsterdam (Figs. 2 and 4), for in all of these works there are details of pose and feature that seem to have been cast from similar molds. Note, for example, the restrained tilt of the Virgin's head, the elongated eyes and sharply drawn brow line, the long, slender nose and small, tensed mouth; or, the sturdy Child's tightly curled blond hair that crowns a heavily jowled face. Equally common to these works is the definition of the

6. See Van Marle, *op.cit.*, fig. 109.

7. The use of the coat-of-arms of the Canigiani family suggests that the predella was painted originally for a Pescian patron, for the names of members of that family appear several times in the later Trecento in the lists of the civil officials of Pescia (see I. Orsini, *Storia delle monete della repubblica fiorentina*, Florence, 1760, pp. 166-167 and *passim*; also, G.

Bernardini, *Memorie sparse della città di Pescia*, Pescia, 1899, pp. 108-109). Likewise, on the plinth there is recorded a civil regime at Pescia, that of Filippo Tornabuoni in the mid-1460's (see Bernardini, *op.cit.*, p. 114). The badly rubbed inscription reads as follows (totally effaced parts indicated here by ellipses): TEMPORE REGIMINIS PHILIPPI PPI . . . TORNABUONIS V ET PO . . . PISCIE MCCCCLXIII ET MCCCCLXV.

broader contours of the figure of the Virgin by the shaping of her mantle which smoothly rounds the head and then descends in a continuous line to the shoulder and elbow. The simple silhouette formed thereby is offset by the ductile play of the border of the mantle and the multiple arcs of the pleated scarf which serve as a bridge to the smaller and more complex rhythms of the figure of the Child. Although the closed mantle of the Pescia Virgin contrasts with the open draping in the Bologna and Amsterdam panels, this is a variation that may readily appear in any single master's work even in such a period of convention as the later Trecento.⁸ But, a basic contrast that does differentiate these *Madonnas* is a variance in the strength of their execution, for certainly the rendering of the Pescia Virgin and Child seems tentative in comparison with the forcefully modeled figures in the Bologna panel, always taking into account, of course, the revisions and damage that have weakened the Pescia figures.

On analyzing the facial features and expressions of the two saints in the Pescia altar, St. Peter (Fig. 5) immediately recalls other of Lorenzo's versions of this same personage or a related type. Compare him with the sleeping St. Peter (Fig. 6) in the Academy *Agony* or with *St. Jerome*(?) (Fig. 8) in an antiphonary of 1394 in the Laurenziana,⁹ and there is discovered a single type playing only minutely divergent roles. Their strongly Cionese facial features are all depicted with the same incisive linear detail and definite contrasts of chiaroscuro, and they convey a comparable intensity regardless of the differences in their dramatic meaning. In such works of Lorenzo's mature style as the Uffizi *Coronation*, this same visage (Fig. 7) takes on a graver, darker passion and is more subtly modeled. Nonetheless, the type had already been established in the youthful works.

The most vivid analogy with the features of the Pescia *St. Peter* is found not in Lorenzo's representations of this same saint or of coeval personalities, but rather in the most dramatic image of his early style, the Christ (Fig. 9) of the *Agony in the Garden*. His youth and the impact of a more mystical experience differentiate him from the older counterpart, and yet even a superficial comparison indicates that St. Peter's aged look is only beard deep. What distinguishes St. Peter more basically from his compatriots in the *Agony* is that same reticence of modeling and contour that have already been noted in comparing the figures of the Virgin and Child with those in Bologna and Amsterdam. It seems reasonable to suggest that the Pescia triptych, while produced at generally the same stage of Lorenzo's career as the *Agony* and the two *Madonnas*, is the work of an earlier and less forceful moment.

Unlike St. Peter or the Virgin, the St. Sebastian of the Pescia altar can claim no immediate kin among Lorenzo's contemporary works. Nevertheless, his gentility and grace continue to be part of the painter's expressive repertoire and are heightened, even somewhat effeminized, in such a type as the St. Proculus (Fig. 10) of the Academy *Annunciation* of ca. 1409.¹⁰ A comparison of

8. E.g. Spinello Aretino's two *Madonnas* in the Fogg Museum and the triptych of 1391 in the Academy in Florence (see Van Marle, *op.cit.*, III, The Hague, 1924, figs. 326, 333 and 338).

9. Cod. Cor. Laur. 5, ex-Angeli, 10^og, fol. 138r. This miniature was first published by Anna Maria Ciaranfi ("Lorenzo Monaco miniatore," *L'arte*, xxxv, 1932, pp. 291-292 and fig. 3). The absence of a halo makes doubtful the identification of the cardinal with St. Jerome.

A miniature in the National Gallery in Washington representing *Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter*, which has recently been attributed to Lorenzo Monaco, partially on the basis of comparison with this miniature of 1394, appears closer to the style of Mariotto di Nardo (cf. E. Rosenthal, "Una pittura di Lorenzo Monaco scoperta recentemente," *Commentari*, VII, 2, 1956, pp. 71-77, figs. 1-14). The suggestion that the Washington miniature is related stylistically to Lorenzo's miniatures of 1394 and 1395 as well as to the

frescoes of the Chiostro delle Oblate in Florence is, in my opinion, untenable, for the latter are surely the work of Mariotto rather than of the young Lorenzo Monaco. Sirén (*op.cit.*, pp. 21-27) began the long tradition of attributing the Oblate frescoes to Lorenzo Monaco, while Berenson (*Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1932, p. 331) was the first to associate them with Mariotto, assigning only the *Agony in the Garden* to that master, and elsewhere in the same volume (p. 299) giving the entire series to Lorenzo Monaco. Pudelko (*op.cit.*, p. 237) suggested Mariotto as the probable painter of the frescoes, and Gronau (*op.cit.*, p. 218 n. 17) assigned them definitely to him. For evidence of Mariotto's activity as a miniaturist, see P. Pouncey, "An Initial Letter by Mariotto di Nardo," *Burlington Magazine*, LXXXVIII, 1946, pp. 71-72, illus. on p. 73.

10. See U. Procacci, *La Galleria dell'Accademia di Firenze*, Rome, 1951, p. 44, no. 8458. This *Annunciation* is undoubtedly the picture which Follini and Rastrelli saw in the church

these two saints suggests, moreover, that by that later date Lorenzo's Trecentesque figure style, with its movements of drapery rhythm superimposed on a relatively static core, had been fully transformed into a mannered Gothic mode dominated by the restless arabesque. By the end of the first decade of the Quattrocento, Lorenzo's art had evolved into the purest Internationalism, whereas his style in such works of the 1390's as the *Agony*, the Bologna and Amsterdam *Madonnas*, and the Pescia Altarpiece, represents one of the last vital expressions of the Florentine Trecento.¹¹

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

of S. Procolo in Florence and claimed was painted in 1409 (*Firenze antica e moderna illustrata*, v, Florence, 1794, p. 142), for its style is closely related to the miniatures in an antiphonary of 1409 in the Laurenziana (Cod. Cor. Laur. 3, ex-Angeli C), as well as to the small wings from a triptych in the Louvre, which are dated 1408, and the *Lamentation* at Konopiště (cf. M. Meiss, "Italian Primitives at Konopiště," *ART BULLETIN*, XXVIII, 1, 1946, pp. 14-15, figs. 24 and 25, where a connection between the Louvre and Konopiště

panels is tentatively proposed).

11. Gronau also suggested a dating in the last decade of the Trecento for the *Agony* and the Bologna and Amsterdam *Madonnas* (*op.cit.*, pp. 220-221); Pudelko implied this dating for the *Agony* and the Amsterdam *Madonna* (*loc.cit.*), but he called the Bologna panel a workshop piece, datable ca. 1413 (*op.cit.*, *Burlington Magazine*, LXXIV, February, 1939, p. 76 n. 2).



1. Lorenzo Monaco, *Madonna and Saints*. Pescia, Biblioteca Comunale



2. Lorenzo Monaco, *Madonna Enthroned* (detail). Bologna, Pinacoteca



3. Lorenzo Monaco, *Madonna and Saints*, detail of Fig. 1



4. Lorenzo Monaco, *Madonna Enthroned* (detail). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



5. Lorenzo Monaco, *Madonna and Saints*, detail of Fig. 1



6. Lorenzo Monaco, *Agony in the Garden*, detail of St. Peter. Florence, Academy



7. Lorenzo Monaco, *Coronation of the Virgin*, detail of St. Peter. Florence, Uffizi



8. Lorenzo Monaco, *St. Jerome (?)*, from an antiphonary
Florence, Laurenziana



9. Lorenzo Monaco, *Agony in the Garden*, detail of Christ. Florence, Academy



10. Lorenzo Monaco, *Annunciation*, detail of St. Proculus
Florence, Academy

THE BRUSSELS VERSION OF THE MÉRODE ANNUNCIATION*

CARLA GOTTLIEB

THE *Annunciation* in the Musée d'Art Ancien at Brussels (Fig. 1) is generally considered a copy after the *Annunciation* attributed to the Master of Flémalle, now in the possession of the Mérode family (Fig. 2). By comparison of shadowgraphs Mr. Burroughs has identified the copyist as Jacques Daret, and this identification has looked plausible to Dr. Held, reviewer of Burroughs' book.¹ Stylistic criteria have led me to the same conclusion. Since Burroughs' attribution and Held's endorsement seem to have passed unnoticed, it is worth while to strengthen the hypothesis with further arguments.

The style of Jacques Daret is known from four panels which depict four scenes from the Life of the Virgin: the *Visitation* (Fig. 7), the *Nativity* (Fig. 3), the *Adoration of the Magi*, and the *Presentation in the Temple* (Fig. 5). These panels formed the shutters of an altarpiece executed in 1434-1435 for Jean du Clercq, Abbot of St. Vaast at Arras (in 1434-1435). It is fortunate that the *Nativity* can be compared with the Master of Flémalle's painting on the same subject (Figs. 3 and 4) while Flémallesque elements recur in the other three: the *tempietto* from the Flémallian *Betrothal of the Virgin* is found in Daret's *Presentation* (Figs. 5 and 6) and the Flémallian *Nativity* landscape (minus rocks) in Daret's *Visitation* (Figs. 4 and 7). This presents auspicious conditions for a parallel study of the master and his pupil-collaborator.²

However, before the study can focus upon Daret himself, it is necessary to narrow down the identification of the copyist to the immediate circle of the Master of Flémalle. This is imperative since the end of the fifteenth century saw a number of painters turn for inspiration to this artist. Each of the plagiarists may have started his career by copying the Mérode *Annunciation*. Now it can be proven that the Brussels *Annunciation* comes from the Flémallian workshop itself because all of its major changes find a parallel in paintings of the Master of Flémalle or of the early Roger van der Weyden: the position of the Virgin is employed in the Werl *Barbara* and London *Magdalen*; the gesture of the Virgin's right hand reflects that of the dexter angel in the central panel of the Seilern *Entombment*; the drapery thrown over the bench copies the arrangement of the Aix *Madonna*; the still life of book and cloth upon the table is taken from the Salting *Madonna*; the rumpling of the pillow is found in the *Annunciation* connected with Roger, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.³ In the repertoire of the plagiarists these paintings are neither conspicuous nor grouped together. It follows that they were already dispersed at the turn of the century. Hence only a contemporary artist could have seen them together, or else have served with his painting as prototype for them.⁴

* A grant from Bryn Mawr College paid for the photographs. I acknowledge with pleasure this help.

1. A. Burroughs, *Art Criticism from a Laboratory*, Boston, 1938, pp. 211-212; J. S. Held, *ART BULLETIN*, XXII, 1940, p. 43.

2. On Daret, see M. Houtart, "Jacques Daret, peintre tournaisien du XV^e siècle," *Revue tournaisienne*, III, 1907, pp. 32-36, 45-49; G. H. de Loo, "An Authentic Work by Jacques Daret, Painted in 1434," *The Burlington Magazine*, XV, 1909, pp. 202-208; *idem*, "Jacques Daret's Nativity of Our Lord," *The Burlington Magazine*, XIX, 1911, pp. 218-225; Jeanne Tombu, "A Flémallesque Virgin with the Flower," *The Burlington Magazine*, LVII, 1930, pp. 122-128; J. Lestocquoy, "Le rôle des artistes tournaisiens à Arras au XV^e siècle:

Jacques Daret et Michel de Gand," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, VII, 1937, pp. 211-227. The *Adoration of the Magi* is reproduced as fig. 234 in E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1953 (abbreviated hereafter to Panofsky).

3. Panofsky, figs. 213, 316, 196, 209, 203; M. J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, Berlin, 1924-1937 (quoted below as Friedländer), II, fig. 48.

4. Another point may have significance. Compared with the Mérode *Annunciation*, table and vase in the Brussels *Annunciation* are both turned very slightly, but consistently with one another. It looks as though the paintings were done at the same time from slightly different points of view. In other words, the Brussels artist copied the detail from nature not

Granted that the Brussels copy is contemporary with the above paintings it needs now to be shown that Daret is the painter and no other artist working within the Master of Flémalle's orbit. The case for or against Daret's authorship rests primarily upon the stylistic differences between the two *Nativities* (Figs. 3 and 4). Let us specify in what these consist.

The most decisive difference between the two painters is Daret's search for quiet monumentality, which he tries to achieve by simplification and symmetry. Four figures do the service of seven; one scroll takes the place of four; two mountain peaks stand for a mountain range; a few houses and bushes replace a panoramic view. The hut is displayed parallel to the beholder instead of diagonally as in the original.⁵ Note further the alignment of hill contours with hut roof which Daret has substituted for the model's climactic upsurge in tiers. All forceful active elements have been eliminated by him. The differences in approach between the two artists are evident also in the layouts of the composition. Daret's is plain and simple. The Christ Child as pivot is placed in the center of the hut and surrounded by concentric rings: the kneeling women; the hut; Joseph, the angels, and the animals. Contrary to this, the Master of Flémalle uses a rich and subtle scheme. In his painting the Christ Child is related to the Sun. Hence two compositional centers are introduced. They are purposely placed far apart so that the glance of the spectator is forced to travel from one end of the image to the other. One route leads from Child to Sun in a straight line with a stop-over in the round hat of the peasant, the geometrical center of the panel. Another, less direct, path connects the two Lights via the candle of St. Joseph. The duality in interest is accompanied by a complex pattern. Suffice it to contrast the simple, two-dimensional symmetries used by Daret for the right and left arms of his Child, Madonna, and midwives with the Flémalian asymmetries and double rotations. The Master of Flémalle operated with balance of form, not with identity; with intricate many-sided relationships, not with economy of means.

A second fundamental difference between master and follower is Daret's weakness for the prettifying nonsignificant detail. He adds such trifles as the icicles, the birds, the lettered borders of a garment, the straw upon the floor of the hut under the animals (cf. Figs. 3 and 4). Some of these additions can be found also in the Master of Flémalle's paintings, e.g. birds appear in the donor panel of the Mérode altarpiece (Fig. 2). But in the works of the Master of Flémalle every detail is introduced with an end in mind, every object has a specific role and is thus compositionally indispensable. The birds in the Mérode panel repeat the diagonals in the design of the gatehouse (gables and decorative X's in the flank wall) and reinforce this element against the predominance of verticals and horizontals in the painting. Two of them echo the donor's haircut. Three of them symbolize the three human beings: a couple, and a single individual located spatially higher up. In the Daret painting, the birds have no such definite reason for existence. They are merely spots of color, possible witnesses at Christ's birth, and weak formal repetitions of the angel wings. Consequently they could be omitted without damage to the composition.

A third characteristic of Daret is to introduce minor changes when he copies the motifs of his teacher. In his *Nativity*, St. Joseph has shifted the candle from left to right hand; he and the midwives have been swung around carrousel fashion; the animals and the single angel face the opposite way.

Now strikingly similar differences can be listed between the Brussels and Mérode *Annunciation* panels (Figs. 1 and 2). Again the most obvious change is the symmetrization in the copy. The Blessed Virgin has been turned toward the Holy Messenger and she faces him like a mirror image. The equalization of the figures is carried through meticulously—to the degree of situating them at the same distance from the table. Furthermore the leg of the table is aligned with the

from the Mérode altarpiece as though working at the elbow of the Master of Flémalle.

5. When Daret adopted the *tempietto* from the Master of

Flémalle's *Betrothal of the Virgin* for his *Presentation in the Temple*, it underwent a similar change in his hands (Figs. 5 and 6).

bench, and the three still-life objects on the table—the book, candlestick, and jug—are centered. To balance the cavity of the fireplace at the right, a room is shown at the left in lieu of the circular windows and door jamb of the Mérode *Annunciation*. The latter's wall niche is replaced by a window which duplicates the one present. (Compare here the diversified column shafts and spandrel sculpture of the *Betrothal* by the Master of Flémalle with the uniform column shafts and two warriors of Daret's *Presentation* [Figs. 5 and 6]). Hand in hand with symmetry goes again reduction of elements. One opening in the dexter wall substitutes for three Flémallian apertures. The firescreen and the scroll upon the table are suppressed. To sum up the change, the dynamism of the Mérode *Annunciation* is stabilized and its richness of forms is abandoned.

Another resemblance between Daret's procedure in the *Nativity* and that of the Brussels artist is the addition of little decorative touches chosen from the repertoire of the Master of Flémalle—but unlike his art in that they are unconnected with the composition. For example, the fireplace jambs are studded with rosettes, the cloth protecting the book is patterned, a broom is hung upon the wall, and a print is affixed to the fireplace mantel (Fig. 8; cf. Fig. 2). Now by great good luck, an analogy for the rosetted moldings can be pointed out in one of the four authenticated Darets. The same decoration is used for the arch moldings of the *tempietto* in the *Presentation* while the Master of Flémalle's moldings in the *Betrothal of the Virgin* (from which the building of Daret is taken) are plain (Figs. 5 and 6). Furthermore, the juxtaposition of two different floor patterns in the Brussels *Annunciation* reminds us of the floor treatment in Daret's *Nativity* where the part of the hut occupied by ox and ass is strewn with straw, and contrasts with the naked ground upon which the Child lies (Figs. 1 and 3). Otherwise, analogies for the tile pattern must be sought outside Daret's documented oeuvre. This contains only one interior and the floor of this interior is covered by the altar. The Brussels tile floor consists of a lozenge checkerboard into which are fitted large octagons, circles, and octagonal stars. Lozenge units, i.e., squares in perspective, appear in Roger van der Weyden's *St. Luke*; and the combination of large units with a checkerboard is employed in the Master of Flémalle's *Salting Virgin*.⁶ As regards the striped material, it belonged to the equipment of the Flémallian atelier. The Master of Flémalle himself used it in the towel of the Mérode *Annunciation* and in the shroud of the Seilern *Entombment*. The stripes in the Brussels painting are unequal in thickness, the central one in each band being heavier (Fig. 8). This is found in Roger's Escorial *Deposition* and in the Prado *Crucifixion*.⁷ Another example of a three-stripe design from the Flémallian studio is the garment of a woman in the Berlin *Crucifixion*.⁸ The print has a counterpart in the Donatrix portrait of the Kress Collection, attributed to Petrus Christus.⁹ I could trace the broom only to Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini Wedding*.¹⁰ This is of consequence since, before Joos van Cleve and Dürer, I know of only one other painting with a broom: the *Annunciation* by the Master of Schöppingen, which is dependent upon our painting.¹¹ Whether or not

6. Panofsky, figs. 313 and 203. The Mérode *Annunciation* also apparently has a checkerboard with inserted large units.

7. *Idem*, fig. 315; J. Destrée, *Roger de la Pasture* . . . , Paris-Brussels, 1930, II, pl. 25.

8. Panofsky, figs. 197, 398. Then stripes disappear for a while to be revived by the copyists at the end of the century. E.g. Gerard David, *Crucifixion* (Panofsky, fig. 229); follower of Joos van Cleve, *Madonna with Child* (Friedländer, IX, pl. LX).

9. *Paintings and Sculpture from the Kress Collection, acquired . . . 1945-1951*, Washington, 1951, no. 75, right wing; fig. on p. 173.

10. Panofsky, fig. 247. Note also that the double-branched candlestick of the Brussels *Annunciation* finds contemporary parallels only in the Melbourne *Madonna* and in the *Birth of St. John*, Turin Hours, hand G (Panofsky, figs. 243, 299), works connected with Jan. Even during the second half of

the 15th century and in the 16th century this form is rare. Here should be mentioned that the rack of Daret's *Nativity* (Fig. 3) appears in a drawing of the *Adoration of the Magi*, now in the Kupferstichkabinett at Berlin (Panofsky, fig. 302), which Panofsky, p. 237, attributes to a follower of Jan van Eyck. Other scholars have assigned this drawing alternately to a copyist after Hubert van Eyck (F. Winkler, "Neues von Hubert und Jan van Eyck," *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer* . . . , Leipzig, 1927, pp. 98, 100); to a Netherlandish artist of ca. 1416/18 (B. Martens, *Meister Francke*, Hamburg, 1929, fig. 58, pp. 201-202); and to Ouwater (C. de Tolnay, *Le Maître de Flémalle et les frères van Eyck*, Brussels, 1939, p. 37). Panofsky, footnote 237/5, quotes further references.

11. The Schöppingen *Annunciation* is reproduced by Paul Pieper, "Zum Werl-Altar des Meisters von Flémalle," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XVI, 1954, fig. 59. For Joos van Cleve,

the *Arnolfini Wedding* is Daret's source is anybody's guess. The beautiful measured symmetry and majestic stability of Jan must have been congenial to the artistic temper of Daret.

As a third characteristic of Daret, we pointed to the minor revisions which he imposes upon the motifs borrowed from the paintings of the Master of Flémalle. The Brussels *Annunciation* furnishes several instances that demonstrate this habit. The lions of the bench are turned outward, which reminds one of the volte-face of the ox, ass, and angel in Daret's *Nativity* (Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4). The dark Flémallian window frames are given a light coat of paint, a reversal of values that is echoed in the substitution of dark columns in Daret's *Presentation* for their light prototypes (Figs. 1, 2, 5, and 6). Upon the empty place created in the foreground by the Virgin's quarter turn toward the angel, the artist has placed the book pouch from the table; the pouch he replaced by the book cloth taken from the Virgin's hands. These changes in position of objects are similar to the rearrangements of St. Joseph and the midwives in the *Nativity* by Daret.

So much for the structure of Daret's paintings. But the identification of Daret with the author of the Brussels *Annunciation* should also be controlled by an analysis of his physiognomies and costumes, his graphic vocabulary, treatment of forms, color scheme, character portrayal, and sensory media. To this we shall turn now but omit discussion of color, light, and sensory media because it has been impossible to collect the evidence on these points.

The Brussels copyist used a different model than the one used by the Master of Flémalle for his Virgin (Figs. 5 and 2). This same person posed, however, also for the Virgin in Daret's *Presentation in the Temple* (Figs. 1 and 8). The St. Gabriel appears also in the latter painting. He can be recognized under a disguising kerchief in the woman who stands next to St. Joseph. Moreover, the Brussels Virgin is dressed in a plain garment with high neckline, and in a mantle. Her only reprieve from severe austerity is the lettered hem (Fig. 8). Now this is the standard costume of Daret's St. Vaast Virgins except that two jeweled clasps are added for festive occasions (Figs. 3, 5, and 7). It may perhaps be argued that the models and costume appear also in other pupils of the Master of Flémalle. This is correct; but facial type and costume are done in a specific way by each hand. The Brussels copyist has sharpened the features, hair, and drapery of the Flémallian St. Gabriel (Figs. 1 and 2). This treatment finds an analogy in the horsy faces, pointed noses, snaky curls, resilient materials, and crinkly folds of Daret (Figs. 3, 5, and 7). On the other hand, the Annunciate's swept-back hair with its straight outline reminiscent of a wig, the inclination of her head, the treatment of her neck and collarbones, her short upper lip, and her pouting mouth are paralleled in the *Presentation* Virgin (Figs. 8 and 5). The Annunciate's ear cavity in form of an Arabic cipher "9" is found in the *Visitation* Virgin (Figs. 8 and 7; this convention appears also in Roger van der Weyden). The Annunciate's finger, which seems to vanish into nothingness—a sign of inexperience in draughtsmanship—is repeated in the right hand of Salome and in the left hand of the *Visitation* Virgin (Figs. 8, 3, and 7). For the sake of completeness the gap between middle and ring finger should be mentioned, also the wrist which projects from a sleeve made too short. These idiosyncrasies of the Brussels *Annunciation* find their analogies in the *Nativity* Virgin and Salome

see Panofsky, figs. 247, 494; L. Baldass, *Joos van Cleve . . .*, Vienna, 1925, figs. 15, 26, 47. I am not familiar with all the paintings of the Dormition presumably derived from a Flémallian prototype, and cannot judge whether or not the brooms in Joos' Dormition paintings go back to the Master of Flémalle. It so happens that there exists another link between Joos and Daret. Chronologically the next painted

print known to me is again found in Joos, viz. in his *Annunciation* now at the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Baldass, *op.cit.*, fig. 51) the composition of which goes back to the *Annunciation* in the Louvre attributed to Roger van der Weyden (Panofsky, fig. 310). For Dürer see V. Scherer, *Dürer . . .*, 4th ed., Berlin-Leipzig, n.d., figs. 153, 263, 316.

by Daret (Figs. 1 and 3). They are, however, conventions adopted from the Master of Flémalle, and used by him and Roger van der Weyden as well as by Daret.

The script that runs along the borders of the garments furnishes another proof for the relationship between the Brussels *Annunciation* and the St. Vaast paintings.¹² In both alternately angular and rounded M's and N's are used, the angular forms reversed so that N looks like its mirror image. Normal and reversed S's appear also (Figs. 1, 5, 7, 8).

Daret is always presented as a docile follower of his teacher. This seems to me wrong. While employing the same themes, types, and motifs, Daret did not share the formal aspirations of the Master of Flémalle. In his brilliant analysis of Flémallian art, Dr. Paecht has summed up its peculiarities. Outstanding among these are: the parallel orientation of adjacent objects in the surface pattern, a willful assimilation of their boundary lines to one another (niche base conforms to the neighboring edge of the table in the *Mérode Annunciation*); the repetition of a form within a similar form somewhat like a magical box system (□ shape of fireplace, smoke, firescreen in the *Mérode Annunciation*); and the erratic base line of the formal pattern or configuration (*Gestalt*) which is contrasted with rectangularity at the top (hems of garments versus beams in the *Mérode Annunciation*).¹³ None of these compositional devices is respected by Daret. His treatment of the scrolls is an instance. In the Dijon *Nativity* (Fig. 4), the scroll at the base of the panel follows the outlines of Mary's and Zelomi's garments; together, their contours constitute the bottom zigzag which captivates the eye and leads it into the painting. Then the other scrolls enter into action as guides. They attract the observer's attention as repeats or rhymes. Distributed at strategic points, they direct his glance successively toward these places. On the other hand, all arabesques in the painting are strengthened by the quantitative repetition of the same form. A fine example is the road. The eye is attracted to it by the repetition of form within form: the silhouette of Salome's turban is repeated and surrounded by the scroll; and the scroll is repeated and surrounded by the serpentine of the road. Now this road which curls and twists, which overcomes the obstacles in its course, and finally vanishes around the bend, is like a living being—a dynamic directed force. Daret's *Nativity* (Fig. 3) discards the scrolls, except for one. How does this affect the composition? The eye is sucked into the painting by the void around the Christ Child. It remains glued to this spot because there are no stimuli to detach it—neither zigzags to repel the glance and force it to travel, nor repeats to conduct it from one place to the other. The road, robbed of its supporting props, subsists only as a self-effacing element in disconnected members. One broad short segment and a second tiny fragment extend to right and left behind St. Joseph; a third portion can be seen through the window of the hut; a fourth stretch, thin and long, runs between the shepherds group and the village. It leads straight out of the painting. In one word, the compositional units of the Master of Flémalle cohere and interact; those of Daret fall apart visually.

12. The text printed upon the mantle of the Virgin in the *Visitation* (Fig. 7) comes from an antiphon sung at the Feast of the Purification. Two slightly variant forms of this hymn are listed by H. A. Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus* . . . , II, Leipzig, 1844, p. 319.

A. Ave regina coelorum
Ave Domina angelorum,
Salve radix, salve porta,
Ex qua mundo lux est orta.

Gaude virgo gloriosa
Super omnes speciosa:
Vale o valde decora
Et pro nobis Christum exora.

B. Ave regina coelorum
Ave Domina angelorum
Salve radix, ex qua mundo lux est orta.

Gaude gloriosa
Super omnes speciosa:
Vale valde decora
Et pro nobis Christum semper exora.

Note that Daret has inserted the parts which are obliterated by the fall of the drapery upon the border on the opposite side, and upon the mantle of the woman in the *Presentation* (Figs. 1 and 5). Daret's version contains—distributed between the right and left sides of the hem—the word SE(MP)ER which is found in version B. But Daret's ER precedes his XR(ISTUM). Note also the spelling CELOROM, ANGELOROM. For further references to this hymn cf. Canon U. Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, Louvain, 1892, no. 2070.

13. O. Paecht, "Gestaltungsprinzipien der westlichen Malerei des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Kunstwissenschaftliche Forschungen*, II, 1933, pp. 75-100.

Now the Brussels copyist alters the Flémallian material in a similar way. By his omission of the firescreen, he leaves the mantel unsupported formally. Another instance of his lack of appreciation for Flémallian values is in the alignment of the table with the bench. In the Mérode *Annunciation*, the different angle creates a tension between these two objects; provides a niche for the Madonna; and offers in the hollow of the table leg a concavity toward which the left knee of the angel can extend (Fig. 2). In the Brussels copy the tension is eliminated; the Virgin is squeezed in; and the knee of St. Gabriel is aligned with the projection of the table leg (Fig. 1). With the last misadjustment can be compared another clash in Daret. In his *Nativity* the belt of Salome resembles a serpent which seems to attack the Virgin instead of embracing the outline of her dress like the scroll of the Master of Flémalle, which it replaces (Figs. 3 and 4). Paradoxically, the offensive of the belt results in visual paralysis while the embrace of the scroll, as a pair formation, leads to visual activity.

Yet the art of Daret cannot be dismissed as a mere impoverishment of the art of his master. It is consistent: moreover, it has its own merits. One danger lay in store for the Master of Flémalle. The complexity of his composition could result in chaos. He counteracted this danger successfully by introducing a framework of verticals. His figures are uprights aligned vertically with other upright forms. In the Dijon *Nativity* (Fig. 4), the body of the Virgin is carried up in the sleeved arm of a shepherd and in the head of another shepherd; the body of St. Joseph is carried up in that of an angel; the body of Zelomi is carried up in that of Salome. In the Mérode *Annunciation* (Fig. 2), Gabriel's body is carried up in the kettle and chain; the Virgin's body in the corner of the bench and in the shutter. These main verticals are accompanied by secondary ones formed by the objects (or portions of objects): the posts in the *Nativity*; the candle aligned with the central mullion, the central wooden post in the bench's back aligned with the jamb of the fireplace in the *Annunciation*. Daret did not need these ordering accents in his simple composition and wisely omitted them. His figures are placed not below an object but against a background field. And the secondary verticals are disconnected. In his *Nativity* (Fig. 3), the Virgin and the angels, as well as St. Joseph and the angel, are juxtaposed. In the Brussels *Annunciation* (Fig. 1), the corner of the bench above the head of the Madonna is obliterated by the addition of a fancy armrest, and the candle is below the window shutter, not below the mullion; the latter moreover has its corners rounded off.

In Daret this adjustment of Flémallian art to his own temper is still a negative quality. More interesting and more valuable are, of course, his positive contributions. Striking in this respect is the choice of a Madonna in three-quarter view, an unexpected departure in an otherwise faithful copy. It should be emphasized that Daret deviates not only from the Master of Flémalle's *Annunciation* but also from those of Jan van Eyck and Roger van der Weyden.¹⁴ It deserves our praise and proves artistic integrity and daring that Daret maintained his independence despite direct exposure to the influence of three great masters.

The originality of Daret is furthermore apparent in his use of pictorial symbols. In the *Presentation*, the space reserved between the five round jeweled embellishments on the altar's front has the form of a cross (Fig. 5). In the *Annunciation*, the rear wall is shaped like the three upper arms of a cross with a headpiece for the inscription. On the axis of the composi-

14. The scheme employed by Daret is rare in the art of the Low Countries during the 15th century. Excepting woodcuts, manuscripts, and grisaille imitation of statuary, I can quote only the following examples of such confrontations, in profile or in three-quarter view: a painting in the Philadelphia Museum of Art which is based on our *Annunciation*; the Friedsam *Annunciation* (Panofsky, fig. 284); the Wolfenbüttel drawing of an *Annunciation* attributed to Jan van Eyck

by H. Zimmermann, "Eine Silberstiftzeichnung Jan van Eycks aus dem Besitze Philipp Hainhofers," *Jahrbuch der kg. preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXXVI, 1915, pl. facing p. 216; the *Annunciation* in Brussels from the School of Ghent (Fierens-Gevaert, *Les Primitifs Flamands*, . . . , II, Brussels, 1909, pl. LXX; the *Annunciation* by the Virgo Master (Friedländer, v, fig. 45); and J. Provost's *Annunciation*, Berlin Dealer (*ibid.*, IX, fig. 141).

tion, the cross forms the monumental tragic background for the quiet scene (Fig. 1). Daret felt deeply the concrete human implications of the Biblical story.

The finest asset of Daret's style is a subtle characterization of human emotion. Once we have overcome the initial reaction to by-pass an uninteresting composition, we find ourselves face to face with these studies in character roles. In this respect, particularly when he deals with women, Daret is superior to the Master of Flémalle. The latter had a curious disregard for the female character. All his Virgins, his donatrix, and his portraits are inarticulate: bland impassive automata. The queen upon her throne does not differ in this respect from the mother or the virgin, from the saint or the wealthy lady; all are alike in their irresponsiveness to the situations they face. The animals are portrayed with more feeling, and inanimate matter is done with more love than the human face (Figs. 2, 4, and 6). Contrary to this, the Madonnas of Daret exhibit emotions by which each is clearly defined. The tenseness of the expectant mother cannot be confused with the contentment of the parent who offers her child as a gift to God (Figs. 7 and 5). Daret's power to express emotions in the human face vindicates the reputation he enjoyed during his life time and saves his art from dullness. If we look upon the faces of the main figures, we forget his compositional shortcomings. Now the Brussels *Annunciation* is superior to the Mérode *Annunciation* in exactly this respect. Isolated, the Virgin is beautiful because of her sensitive features (Fig. 8). Here is another proof of Daret's authorship.¹⁵

Jacques Daret emerges from the comparison with his teacher as an integral artistic personality. If he works with the vocabulary of the Master of Flémalle, yet the syntax is his own. This is no mean achievement considering the Master of Flémalle's overwhelming originality. Daret had the makings of a great artist but by some twist of fate he fell just short of greatness—perhaps due to the nearness of genius, or else due to some inhibition in his character which prevented him from exposing publicly what was his innermost. He had, however, fine ideas, a feeling for human passions, and imagination. It may be hoped that the above attribution will lead to further study of his work. Once attention focuses upon it, we are sure to discover other beauties like the lovely Brussels Virgin set against her cross.¹⁶

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15. The height of the Brussels *Annunciation*, 0.58 m (*Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. Catalogue de la peinture ancienne*, new ed., Brussels, 1953, p. 81) is almost identical with that of the St. Vaast panels, 0.57 m (Friedländer, II, p. 118). The fifth painting from the St. Vaast altarpiece was an *Annunciation*. It has so far not been identified. It consisted apparently of two panels.

16. The *Virgin upon the Crescent* in the Mueller Collection, Brussels (Panofsky, fig. 226) is a case in point. This painting has the traits we isolated above as characteristics of

Daret. It contracts into one design two Flémallian paintings: the Aix *Madonna* and the *Madonna in an Enclosed Garden* at Berlin. The fall of the mantle echoes the Leningrad *Madonna at the Fireplace* (Panofsky, figs. 198, 209, 211). Symmetry prevails. Compare the feet of the Christ Child with the hands of Salome in Daret's *Nativity* (Fig. 3). It is a curious coincidence that the two letters D and A on the vase with flowers are the first two letters of the name Daret. These D and A stand out as initials in the painted Bibles from the Flémallian circle.





1. *Annunciation*, here attributed to Jacques Daret. Brussels, Musée d'Art Ancien (Courtesy ACL Bruxelles)



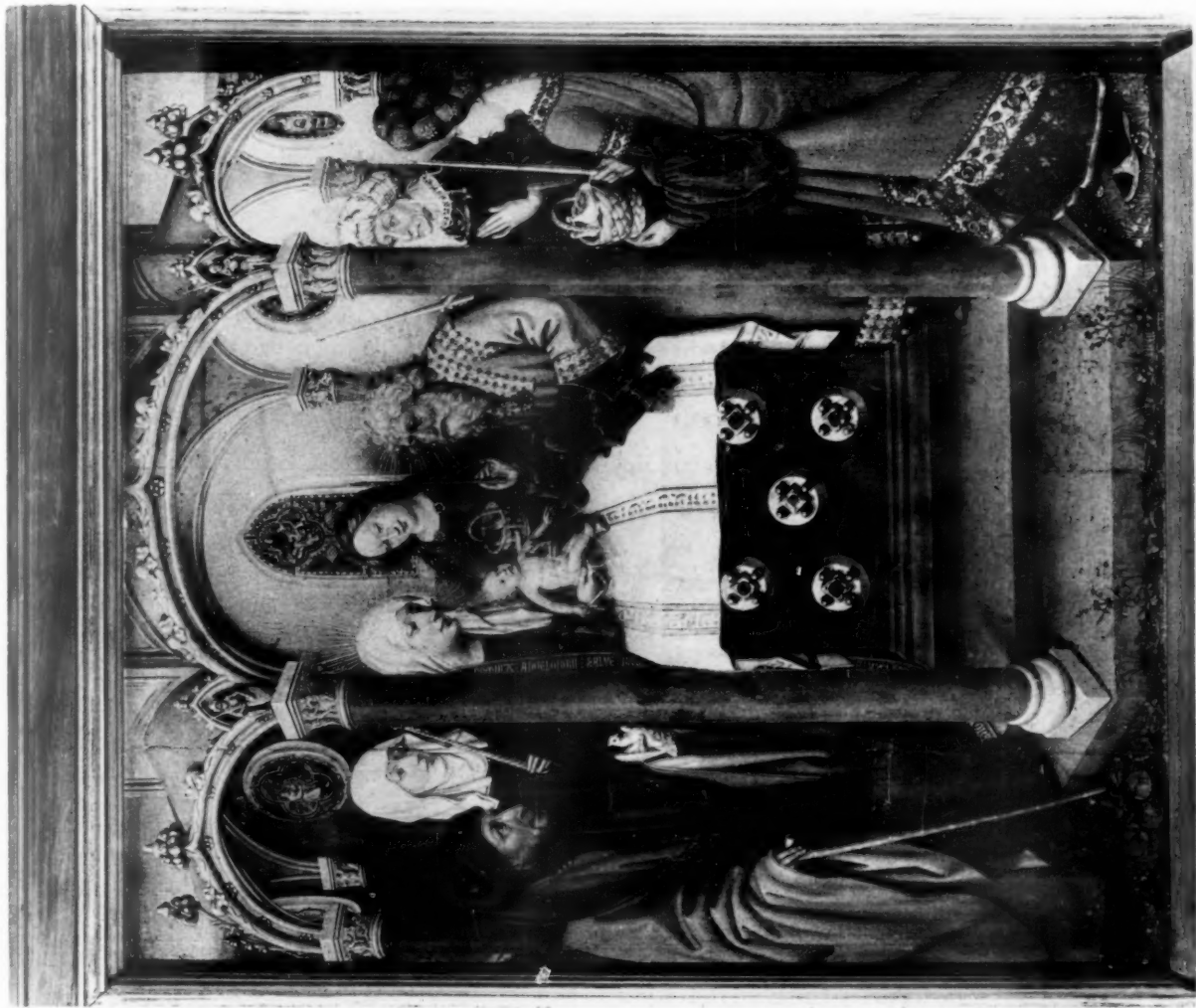
2. Master of Flémalle, Mérode Altarpiece. Brussels, Mérode Collection



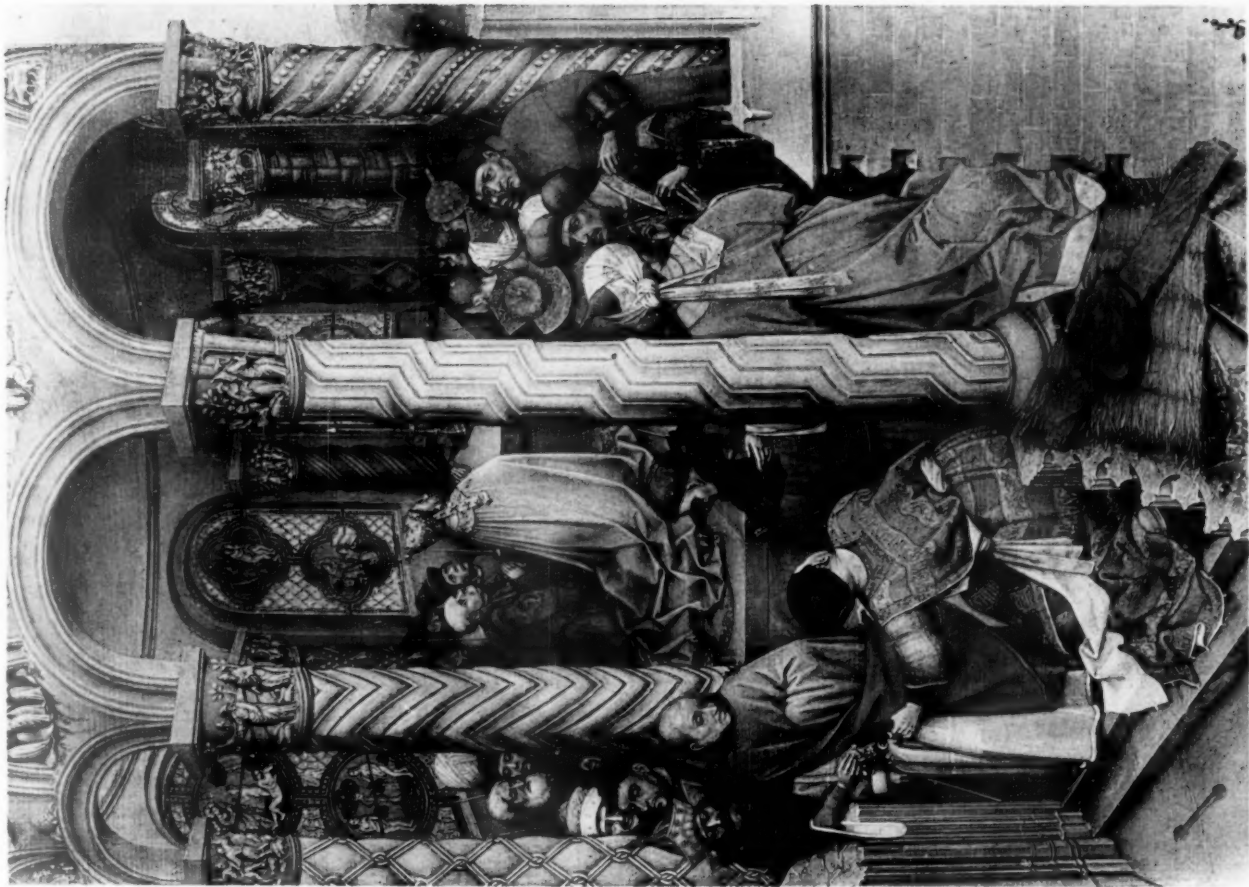
3. Jacques Daret, *Nativity*. Castagnola, Thyssen Collection
(Courtesy of the owner)



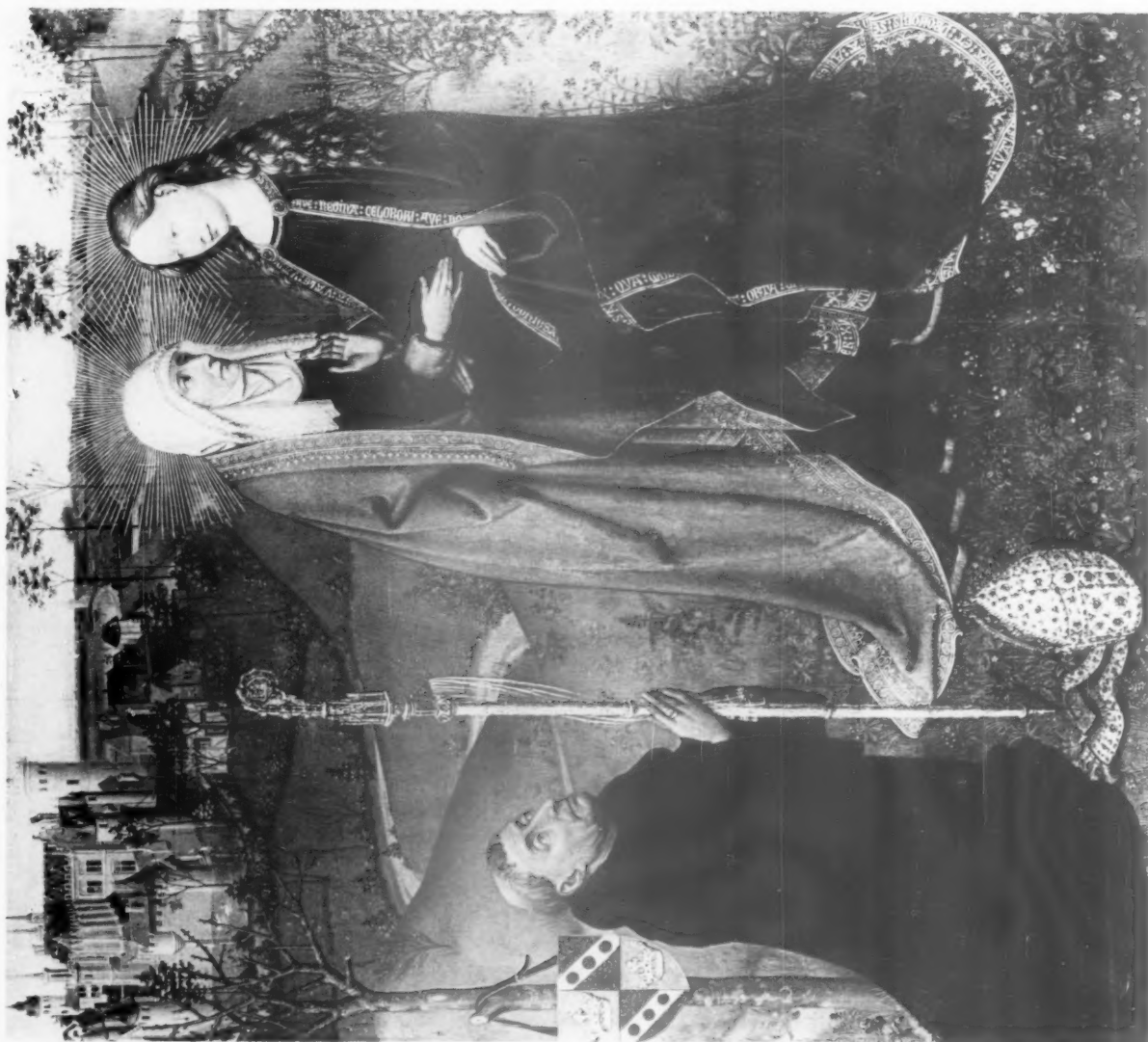
4. Master of Flémalle, *Nativity*, Dijon, Musée
(photo: M. Remy)



5. Jacques Daret, *Presentation in the Temple*. Paris, Petit Palais, Tuck Collection (photo: Bulloz)



6. Master of Flémalle, *Betrothal of the Virgin* (detail)
Madrid, Prado (photo: Mas)



7. Jacques Daret, *Visitation*. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie
(Courtesy of the Museum authorities)



8. Detail of Fig. 1

NOTE

THREE PROBLEMS FROM THE VILLARD DE HONNECOURT MANUSCRIPT

ROBERT BRANNER

THE manuscript of Villard de Honnecourt contains a well-known series of shop problems that have considerable importance for understanding the methods of construction used in the early thirteenth century.¹ A number of the drawings concern arches, perhaps the most fundamental element of Gothic architecture. Setting out voussoirs for an ordinary, flat arch must have been child's play for the mediaeval stonemason, just as laying out the arch was for the architect. But when an arch was oblique, that is to say, when it covered an opening passing through a wall at more than 90 degrees, or when the wall itself was curved, the procedure was rather involved. In diagrams 39 *h* and *i*, the manuscript offers ways of proceeding in both cases, but the drawings are so cryptic and the texts beneath them so brief, that no adequate explanations have been found for them. I should like therefore to propose the following solutions.

39 *i*: "(P)ar chu tail om vosure besloge." (In this way an oblique voussoir is cut.)²

The problem is essentially simple: how to cut the voussoir(s) for an arch covering an oblique opening in a wall. The solution consists primarily in determining the angle of the opening with reference to the axis of the wall. One must note, however, that the joints in the arch are not to run perpendicular to the wall, as is the case with Renaissance arches, but parallel to the faces of the opening. It might be assumed that the angle of the opening could be read from large-scale working plans, a supposition occasionally made by Lassus and Willis. But the very presence of the problem in the manuscript hints strongly that such plans did not exist.

Solution (Fig. 1)

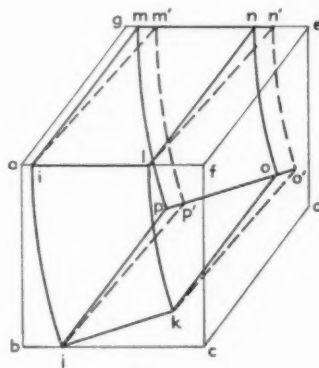


Fig. 1

1. Take a squared-up stone (abcdefg).³ Lay out, let us say, the outer face (ijkl) of the

1. Pages 39-41, according to the pagination of Hans R. Hahnloser, *Villard de Honnecourt. Kritische Gesamtausgabe des Bauhüttenbuches ms. fr. 19093 der pariser Nationalbibliothek*, Vienna, 1935, whose numbering of the figures I have also adopted. The problems here discussed were copied into the manuscript by a second architect, named by Hahnloser Master 2. "Lassus" and "Willis" refer, respectively, to J. B. A. Lassus, *Album de Villard de Honnecourt* (ed. Darcel), Paris, 1858; and R. Willis, *Facsimile of the Sketch-book of Wilars de Honnecourt . . .*, London, 1859. A Watkins Faculty Scholarship (1956) from the University of Kansas permitted me to verify and add to the documents presented in this note.

2. Lassus (p. 149) and Willis (p. 126) apparently thought this figure merely indicated how to transfer an angle from one jamb of an oblique doorway to the other, and not how to set out the voussoirs for the arch surmounting the opening; Hahnloser (p. 106) seems to think that one stone is to be cut so that it will fit the oblique face of the other, completed stone. The presence of "vosure" in the text belies these interpretations.

3. See K. Friederich, *Die Steinbearbeitung in ihrer Entwicklung vom XI. bis zum XVIII. Jahrhundert*, Augsburg, 1932, pp. 26ff.

voussoir upon one face of the stone ($abcf$). The thickness of the voussoir (\bar{il} , \bar{jk}) is given, perhaps by the gauge,⁴ and the curves of extrados and intrados (\hat{ij} , \hat{kl}) are determined by the sweep (shown in 39 *f*). The face of the voussoir can have almost any length desired (\hat{ij}), provided it fits onto the squared stone and allows room for the next steps, an estimate the mason may well have been able to make with considerable accuracy.

2. Drop perpendiculars (im , ln , jp) on the adjacent faces of the stone, as if to lay out an ordinary voussoir.

3. Find the angle of the opening, in units, by placing the square along the jamb face and measuring from the free end to the wall, as shown in the manuscript.

4. Lay out this angle on the joint faces of the stone (mim' , nln' , pjp'), in the same manner.

5. Trace, with the sweep, the opposite face of the voussoir from m' , n' ($m'n'o'p'$); the distance between $\widehat{m'p'}$ and $\widehat{n'o'}$ can be found with the gauge. The second joint face ($jko'p'$) is a "hidden" face and cannot be completely traced at the outset; but it appears after the rough cut is made and can easily be finished by squaring up the edges ko' , $o'p$, $p'j$. The same is true of the intrados and extrados.

The manuscript seems to contain information that is not used in this demonstration, particularly the five divisions across the top of the right section of masonry, and the ten divisions across the opening. For the first case, it is possible, as Hahnloser suggests (p. 106), that the copyist inadvertently added two extra strokes. The five divisions may, on the other hand, represent the side of a larger triangle similar to the one formed by the mason's square, that is to say, the figure can be understood as giving a specific rather than a general case. In this event, it could be interpreted, along with Lassus and Willis, as indicating how to cut the stones for the opposite side of the jamb, once the first side had been determined. But this, of course, can only be part of the total operation, since it is not even mentioned in the text. The ten divisions across the bottom of the diagram may be the measurement of the opening itself, another indication of the specific rather than the general. Both of these features of the diagram must be understood in the general context of the problem in mediaeval building. Most arches of this sort in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were built over small and minor passageways that could not be straight because of some impingement such as an adjacent wall or window; their most frequent use was probably provided by entrances to spiral stairways in buttresses. The arch was therefore not one of a large series in a monument but unique, or practically so, and it is doubtful whether the architect would have given it much attention. A satisfactory angle for the opening could be found empirically and one jamb begun; the courses for the opposite jamb could then be set out from the first one and the mason would, finally, take his measurements for the arch from any erect portion of the jambs. The presence of several sets of measurements in the manuscript figure seems in fact to indicate several steps, and the complexity of the figure may certainly mean that two parts—the second jamb and the covering arch—are explained simultaneously.

39 *h*: "(P)ar chu tail om vosure d'estor de machonerie roonde." (In this way a voussoir for a window in circular masonry is cut.)⁵

This problem is much more complex than 39 *i*, since the arch bends as it rises. The aim is to make the cylindrical surfaces of the wall pass smoothly across the inner and outer faces

4. This instrument, shown in 39 *c*, *d* and 41 *e*, was perhaps called a "scantillon." See E. Gamillscheg, "Französische Etymologien," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, xli, 1921, pp. 507-508. "Ber wih he squire and schautillun Also hu were a gud Mascun (*Floriz and Blanche flor*, 325) and "Do we wel and make a toure Wit suire and scantilon . . ." (*Cursor Mundi*), both 14th century texts, definitely associate the word with the trade of the mason. It was also used by the baker, the carpenter, the clothmaker, and so forth. See

the Old French dictionaries of Godefroy and Tobler-Lommatzsch.

5. Lassus (p. 149) considers this diagram to represent only the laying of voussoirs already cut on templates; Willis (pp. 125-126) supposes that the voussoirs were cut as if for a flat arch, then laid and reworked *in situ* to the necessary curvature; Hahnloser (p. 106) returns to Lassus' interpretation.

of the arch, so that the voussoirs will not form a polygon. This means that the vertical axis of each voussoir will have to be tilted with respect to the vertical axis of the cylinder, to a degree that depends upon the position of the voussoir in the arch. The conditions are also more complex than in 39 *i*. The joint faces of the arch can be flat, once again unlike the solutions proposed since the sixteenth century; and no set number of stones, nor even a specified length for each voussoir must necessarily be predicated at the start, as is the case with Philibert de l'Orme and his successors. On the other hand, the same number of stones on either side of the keystone and a more or less regular size for each voussoir immensely simplifies the mason's problem. In this respect, it must be noted that the arch in a curved wall occurs a great many times in any Gothic building where it occurs at all, and it is probable that the mason cut a number of identical or near-identical pieces for each set of similar arches, just as he cut a quantity of identical stones for the piers.

Solution (Figs. 2, 3, 4, 5)

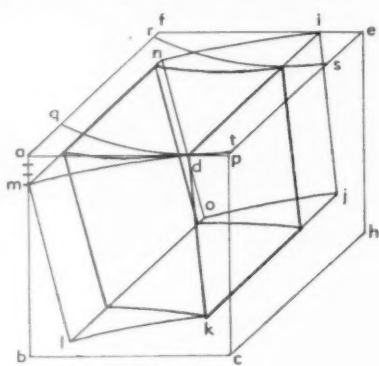


Fig. 2

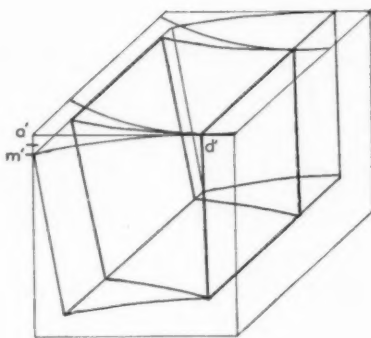


Fig. 3

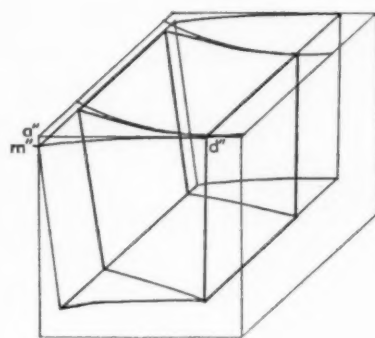


Fig. 4

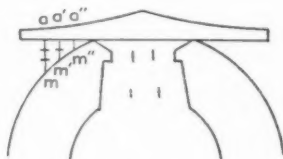


Fig. 5

1. Place the wooden instrument, which is a straight edge and can be marked like a ruler, across the opening so that it is perpendicular to the axis of the window (Fig. 5).⁶ At a certain point (a), measure to, say, the point at which the lower corner of the outer face of the voussoir extrados will be placed.

2. Set this distance out on the squared-up stone (am) (Fig. 2), and trace the outer face of the voussoir (mdkl) with the sweep, as is most convenient for the size and shape of the stone.⁷

3. From the corner (d), drop a perpendicular (di), which must also be parallel to the edge (pe). With (di) as a segment of the radius of the plan, trace the curvature of the wall (qrst). The voussoir can then be rough cut and finished.

After this stone has been put in place, the same procedure is repeated, this time measuring, perhaps with a plumbline, from the straight edge to (m') (Fig. 3) (the same corner as before, but for the adjacent voussoir). The distance is smaller (a'm'), and the face of the voussoir tilts less markedly from the vertical of the cylinder. For the next voussoirs, merely repeat the procedure until the keystone is joined (Fig. 4). But in each case, the plan of the wall must be properly traced with respect to (di).

6. In this demonstration it does not matter whether the straight-edge is tangent to the outer surface of the wall or not; the diagram shows the tool placed directly across the jambs.

7. It seems reasonable to assume that the masons worked with squared-up stones of a fairly standard size for each set of parts in the monument; such stones could have been prepared *en masse* in a large shop.

This procedure permits the mason considerable freedom in the size of each voussoir, but it also obliges him to cut each one for a specified place. My reconstruction presupposes that the first arch of each series was worked out and actually erected, in order to give the mason the necessary measurements for the remaining, identical arches. This actually seems to have been the case in some monuments, for instance in the apse windows at Aulnay-en-Saintonge, where the mason was apparently embarrassed as to how to cut the keystone after he had made smooth but unequally tall hips. In the chevet of Bourges Cathedral, on the other hand, the small windows of the radiating chapels are well formed and nearly always comprise eight regular voussoirs on either side of the keystone. Of course the larger the base of the arch and/or the radius of the plan, the less important or visible any minor errors in the execution.

The instrument employed in 39 *h* is not named in the Villard manuscript, but it was perhaps called *regula* or *amussis* in mediaeval Latin. In antiquity, the term, *amussis*, meant a perfectly flat surface, usually of marble, which was used to check the flatness of a sculptor's or mason's work.⁸ It was also freely called a *regula*, or rule, for this reason,⁹ and the word came to mean "exactly, precisely" in literary language (*examussim*). In the Middle Ages, this instrument was apparently no longer used, and *amussis* seems to have been applied to the square as well as the straight-edge,¹⁰ both of which were *regulae* in that they could be used to check flatness. *Amussis* occurs in the school word-lists of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, where it is always associated with masons' rather than with carpenters' tools.¹¹

In the manuscript the instrument seems to serve two purposes: that of the measuring rod (39 *h*) and that of the straight-edge (39 *l*, *m*, 41 *b*). In other manuscripts, where it is used by masons, the latter function, only, seems indicated. On the other hand, one would expect another instrument to appear in 41 *b*—some form of the *hasta*, *arundo* or *virga* of Gerbert and the agrimensorial tradition,¹² which became the long rule of the Gothic architect. The long rule is not represented in the Villard manuscript,¹³ but it was particularly useful in laying out. It was the long rule, in all probability, that was called the *virga mensuralis* or the *virgula geometrica* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁴ The use of this tool has been predicated by

8. See *Thesaurus linguae latinae*, ad verb. "amussis." The instrument was usually coated with red chalk prior to use, whence the term, "tabula rubricata." The word was passed down to the Middle Ages in Latin glossaries which merely repeat the Ancient meanings (see G. Goetz, *Corpus glossariorum latinorum*, VI, Berlin-Leipzig, 1899, ad verb. "amussis").

9. Cf. Varro, *Quaest. Plaut. Non.*, p. 9, "est enim amussis regula fabrorum" (from *Thesaurus*, loc.cit.).

10. Three related French glossaries of the late 13th and 14th centuries define *amussis* as a mason's plumb (M. Rocques, *Recueil général des lexiques français du moyen âge* [XII^e-XIV^e siècles], 1, Paris, 1936 [Bibliothèque de l'École pratique des Hautes-Études, Sciences historiques et philologiques, CCLXIV]); I have not been able to locate other examples of this definition.

11. Alexander Neckham associates the word with the plumbline in the construction of a wall (V. Mortet-P. Deschamps, *Textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture*, Paris, 1929, p. 180; L. F. Salzman translates "amussis" in this passage as "square" [*Building in England*, Oxford, 1952, pp. 87-88]). Hugh of St.-Victor mentions "amussis" immediately after "trulla," the layer's trowel (Mortet-Deschamps, *op.cit.*, p. 23). Some of the Jean de Garlande glosses qualify it as *ligne* and *reule* (*ibid.*, pp. 276-277); cf. A. Scheler, "Trois traités de lexicographie du XII^e et du XIII^e siècles," *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, VI, 1865, pp. 142-162, and P. Deschamps, "Termes architecturaux dans les gloses du dictionnaire de Jean de Garlande," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 1920, pp. 122-131. The

dictionary was written after 1218 for use by students in the University of Paris (C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* [Harvard Historical Studies, xxvii], Cambridge, 1924, pp. 358-359). The straight-edge seems indicated in preference to the square as a layer's tool, although the square is sometimes found in a layer's hand in manuscript illustrations (Salzman, *op.cit.*, pl. 5). In favor of *amussis* meaning the square, a number of other glosses of the Garlande dictionary may be cited.

12. See M. Curtze, "Über die im Mittelalter zur Feldmessung benutzten Instrumente," *Bibliotheca mathematica*, n.s., x, 1896, pp. 65-72; V. Mortet, "Note historique sur l'emploi de procédés matériels et d'instruments usités dans la géométrie pratique au moyen âge (X^e-XIII^e siècles)," *Deuxième congrès international de philosophie* (Geneva), *Comptes-rendus*, 1905, pp. 925-942; and H. Weissenborn, *Gerbert. Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Mathematik des Mittelalters (Alte Mess-Methoden und Mess-Instrumente)*, Berlin, 1888, pp. 96-168.

13. It is known from many other sources, however, such as the tombstone of Hugues Libergier (ca. A.D. 1263), where the cross-marks making it a ruler may not all be restorations. M. A. Neury, of the Musée des Monuments Français in Paris, has kindly called my attention to the presence of this instrument in a manuscript illumination in the Hôpital général de Dijon (ca. 1460-1465), where regular markings are quite clearly discernible (photograph no. M.H. 19250, Archives photographiques, Paris).

14. See Mortet-Deschamps, *op.cit.*, p. 190 and note 1, and V. Mortet, *Textes . . .*, Paris, 1911, p. 390.

Kossman in the geometrical analysis of certain Cistercian buildings and by Frankl for Milan Cathedral.¹⁵

The form of the straight-edge in the Villard and other manuscripts, with one side projecting to a point or cut in a fancy pattern, was perhaps intended to provide a central handle and may also originally have been considered a means of reducing warp, since the instrument would seem to have been made of wood.

The importance of the tools in the methods of construction of the early thirteenth century can perhaps best be demonstrated by a third problem in the Villard manuscript, which involves the square. The mason's square of the thirteenth century seems to have been distinguished from the carpenter's (and from all squares since the fourteenth century) in that the inner and outer angles and faces were not parallel. This can be seen quite clearly in manuscript illustrations and in one full-sized replica at Chaalis,¹⁶ although I have not been able to find a convincing explanation as to why it was so shaped.

40 g: "(P)ar chu tail om vosors par esscandelon." (In this way voussoirs are cut by échelon.)

One need only follow this simple procedure (Fig. 6):¹⁷

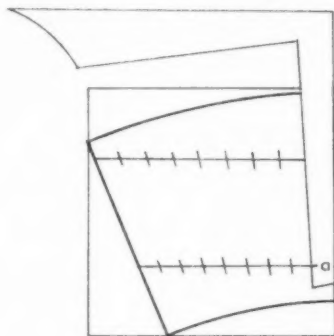


Fig. 6

1. Trace two perpendiculars to one edge of a squared-up stone.
2. Make a mark on the mason's square (a) and place the square with one arm along the edge of the stone and with the mark touching one of the perpendiculars.
3. Successive marks can then be made on the perpendiculars where the arm of the square cuts them. Each set of such marks will effectively indicate the joint face of a voussoir. The intrados and extrados can then simply be traced with the sweep. This is an excellent example of the shorthand notation used throughout the shop-problems of the manuscript.

It must be noted, however, that this procedure can be used only when the prolongations of the arm of the square meet at a point which is the center of the circle from which the arch itself is traced, or, in other words, when the radius of the arch cuts through the arm of the square. This in turn suggests that a (wooden ?) square was made up for each set of identical arches in a building when the échelon method was to be used.

15. Both in P. Frankl, "The Secret of the Mediaeval Masons," *ART BULLETIN*, XXVII, 1945, pp. 46-60. Cf. the wooden perch (*pertica*) of antiquity, in E. N. Stone, *Roman Surveying Instruments* (University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature, IV, 4, pp. 215-242), Seattle, 1928, p. 218.

16. E.g., the examples in the Villard manuscript (39 f, i, q, 40 b); a *Life of St. Alban* of ca. 1250 (Salzman, *op.cit.*, pl. 4 top), etc. The square on the Libergier tomb is also of this form, although the angle of difference between the faces of each arm is minute. A stone in one of the chapels in the ruined church of Chaalis (ca. 1203-1219; see E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, "L'église abbatiale de Chaalis [Oise]," *Bulletin monumental*, LXVI, 1902, pp. 449-487) bears a partial image of the square, as if the instrument had been laid on a finished stone while still in the shop and someone idly ran a pointed

tool around it, engraving the size and shape. The long arm and part of the short arm are shown; the long arm measures 41.7 cm (outer) and 33.2 cm (inner), and the angle of difference between the sides is almost precisely 5 degrees. The arms moreover are not perpendicular, suggesting that the instrument was made of wood and rather easily altered from its original shape; thus the verification of the right angle (40 c) may have been a frequent necessity in the early thirteenth century. See also E. Moreau-Nélaton, *La cathédrale de Reims*, Paris, n.d., pl. 66, for a detail from the western rose of Reims showing a mason holding the instrument.

17. Lassus (p. 158), Willis (p. 144) and Hahnloser (p. 117) seem not to have remarked that the key for explaining the difference between the upper and lower rows of marks on the perpendiculars lies in the form of the mason's square.

The fabrication of this instrument seems to have involved the knowledge of two related propositions of plane geometry: 1, that any triangle inscribed in a semicircle, where the base and diameter are coincident and coequal, forms an apex angle of 90 degrees, a proposition contained in the manuscript (40 c); and 2, that the base angles of two different triangles inscribed in the same semicircle are equal, thus making the angle of difference between each of the arms equal (Fig. 7).

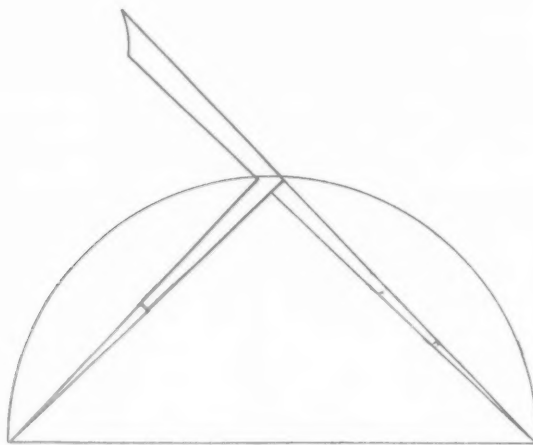


Fig. 7

The mason's square was apparently made in two sizes. The large, or "great" square was probably manipulated by the architect,¹⁸ just as the long ruler¹⁹ and the great compass, in laying out and checking the general forms of the construction. In Philibert de l'Orme's time, it seems to have been about five feet tall.²⁰ The smaller instrument is generally shown in manuscripts in the hands of masons, and each arm seems to have been about two or three feet long. It was apparently often used with the small compass to set out marks on a stone.²¹

THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

18. In the labyrinth of Reims Cathedral, the attribute of the architect, Jean Leloup, was the square (reproduced in M. Aubert, "Les architectes de la cathédrale de Reims," *Bulletin monumental*, CXIV, 1956, pp. 123-125).

19. E.g., "... magistri cementariorum virgam et cyrothecas in manibus habentes . . ." (Nicolas de Biard, 1261, in V. Mortet, "La maîtrise d'oeuvre dans les grandes constructions du XIII^e siècle et la profession d'appareilleur," *Bulletin monumental*, LXX, 1906, pp. 263-270, esp. pp. 267-268).

20. Philibert de l'Orme, *1^{er} tome d'architecture*, Paris, 1567, II.ii: "... une grande esquierre de bois propre à equarrir et marquer les fondements . . ." (ed. Nizet, 1894, p. 36); II.iv: "... il (i.e., livel) soit de bois assemblé, comme l'on

fait une grande esquierre. . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 39). See the figure for II.v (p. 42).

21. "Mais s'il, se faut d'engin avoir, Une grant tour faire savait, Fust senz compas ou senz esquierre" (*Roman de la Rose*, 11764) and "... qui entaillés furent en pierres a droit compas et a esquierre . . ." (*Renart Contrefait Rayn.* 15228) (both from Tobler-Lommatzsch, *ad verb.* "esquierre") may serve as texts; for illustrations, see P. du Colombier, *Les chantiers des cathédrales*, Paris, 1953, pl. XI, fig. 19 (*Bedford Hours*) and pl. XVIII, fig. 29 (*Romuléon*), both from the 15th century; cf. also Nanni di Banco's relief on Or San Michele (*ibid.*, pl. VII, fig. 12).

BOOK REVIEWS

MARGARETE BIEBER, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1955. Pp. xii + 232; 712 figs. on 160 pls. \$17.50.

The first three hundred years of the history of Greek sculpture can be reconstructed very satisfactorily in terms of the systematic evolution of sculptural form. For the sixth century B.C. what might be called the clinical pathology of the archaic phase can be accurately described and its dominant trend into decorative elaboration can be abundantly documented. For the succeeding fifth century B.C. the invention and application of a classic mode in terms of highly intellectualized formulas for drapery, correctly balanced poses, tectonic structural design for nude anatomy, can be traced in chronological sequence from decade to decade very persuasively and intelligibly. Furthermore, an extensive familiarity with the names and personal contributions of the executant artists is not essential to such a demonstration. But, in contrast, the next hundred years of the fourth century B.C., are widely known and universally studied as an era of individual masters whose specific contributions and personal interests are held to have produced strongly divergent styles. But it is worth remarking that out of the considerable list of available names known to us from ancient literary sources and epigraphic survival, it is the invariable custom of the historian of fourth century Greek sculpture to emphasize only three as truly outstanding and significant: Praxiteles, experimenting in off-center balance of frontal poses and substituting a continuous flow of shifting surface for the detached structural order of anatomical terms established by his predecessors; Skopas, alert to the expression of dramatic emotion communicable through the facial features and violent bodily action; and lastly Lysippos, supremely important as the pioneer in the tridimensional presentation of solid form. Compared with these commanding personalities, all other fourth century sculptors are treated as mere bystanders: Silanion, Kephisodotos, Timotheos, Leochares, Bryaxis, Euphranor, the multiple names from the great Polykleitan workshops—few get more than passing mention since we know so little of their actual work. In consequence it does not occur to most of us that the Great Three owe a good deal of their sharply differentiated vividness to our own deliberate isolation of them, one from the other, by assigning to each of them (as though it were his own peculiar property an inviolable domain) one of the three major advances achieved in their period:—anatomical naturalism, expressive realism, and tridimensional plasticity. Praxiteles, Skopas, and Lysippos thus become rather artificial creations of the modern orderly analytic mind—especially Skopas, for whose productions we have hardly any physical evidence at all. (Roman connoisseurs confessed more difficulty than we moderns in distinguishing between the style of Skopas and Praxiteles.)

Miss Bieber devotes more than a quarter of her book to the fourth century forerunners of Hellenistic sculpture and accepts the convention of featuring the Great

Three and of strongly contrasting their styles as though they, rather than the whole impact of the collaborating artists of the time, were responsible for the various trends of the newborn Hellenistic Age. And yet, as far as we can tell, as the fourth century gave place to the third, Skopas left no discoverable descendants, physical or spiritual; Praxiteles made his two sons his artistic heirs and assigns without apparently bequeathing to them very much of his genius; while Lysippos, most influential because the true *Bahnbrecher* into hitherto unexplored sculptural domain, although he founded a school of major importance which endured even to the second artistic generation, was nevertheless and very suddenly followed by utter silence: *cessavit deinde ars*, says Pliny in that amazing and presumably misinterpreted dictum.

And yet it is true that for us there are no great Hellenistic names comparable to those of the earlier sculptors, no masters of international distinction with universally recognized personal styles, no famous ateliers or foundries, no recorded schools, trends, or traditions. It is the full flood of the Hellenistic Age; and all therein that pertains to sculpture seems to be confusion, darkness, and doubt.

There are several good reasons why Hellenistic sculpture has proved to be so difficult a topic and why it has until quite recently been the neglected stepchild of the great sculptural family. Roman aesthetic judgment and consequent literary record was guided into the acceptance of a Golden Age of art which, in regard to sculpture, it delimited to the two hundred years from the disappearance of archaism around the time of the Persian Wars to the dispersion of the Lysippan School early in the third century B.C.—which is to say, in calendar years ca. 480-280 B.C. and in terms of practicing artists from Myron to Teisikrates. Because of this imposed canon of taste, Pliny and other Roman writers have practically nothing to say about Hellenistic sculpture. What is even worse for our knowledge of the art of the period, our vast store of Roman copies of Greek prototypes is restricted by this same prejudice, so that it includes hardly a trace of the great archaic output of the sixth century and (with a few noteworthy exceptions) fails to perpetuate for us the certainly very plentiful Hellenistic work from the enormous stretch of a quarter of a thousand years between 280 B.C. and the accession of the Emperor Augustus.

As for original works, we probably have about as much Hellenistic as classic sculpture still surviving if we except temple sculpture and grave reliefs (there being no Hellenistic counterpart to the Elgin marbles or the Olympia and Aegina pediments); but by ill fortune almost none of these latterday originals carries its date upon it and several (such as the *Nike* from Samothrace and the *Venus de Milo*) were at first flagrantly misdated by their modern admirers. The scaffolding for Hellenistic sculptural chronology had therefore to be constructed somehow from within. But it was not clear how this could be done, precisely because Hellenistic

sculpture was no longer "classic," in the sense that it seemed emancipated from that long process of technical formal evolution which had dictated to all earlier sculpture a discoverable place and determinable function in the development from archaism to objective realism. If the ability to reproduce fully and without arbitrary convention the natural shapes of the physical world—its men, women, youths and maidens, its horses, dogs, and sheep—had at last been attained during the lifetime of the Lysippan School, must it not follow that the subsequent behavior of sculptural art would have been subject to no more discoverable law than the changing moods of fashion and the personal talent of the artists? In brief, was a history of Hellenistic sculpture a possible objective of artistic scholarship?

To such a challenge there have been several responses:

The first, and most obvious, was the attempt to sort out Hellenistic sculpture in terms of local schools. Granted that we did not know when the various pieces were made, at least we rather generally knew where they had been found: baffled by Time, we could concentrate on Place. A well-known instance of such an attempt is Guy Dickins' brief monograph, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, which distinguishes schools of Pergamon, Alexandria, Rhodes, and Mainland Greece. The patent methodological flaws in such a structure are threefold, since (1) sculpture need not have been cast or carved where it was found; (2) even if manufactured locally, its artist may have come from elsewhere to execute the commission; (3) place of manufacture may be of very minor significance compared with period, since Hellenistic sculpture comprises three hundred years. Miss Bieber expresses justifiable skepticism about any attempt "to attribute definite styles to the different schools of artists working in Pergamon, Antioch, Alexandria, the island of Rhodes, and other important centers"; yet she divides her own chapters precisely along these lines of geographical limitation—perhaps more for convenience of assemblage and discussion. Assuredly Pergamon was a great sculptural center during the century from ca. 230-130 B.C.; but the astonishing number of carved marbles which the excavation of the site has yielded does not encourage the concept of a single Pergamenean style, or series of styles, specifically characteristic of that single city and geographically restricted to it. The great reliefs from the Altar of Zeus may have been as unique a product in their time as was the frieze of the Parthenon in its day; but they did not demonstrably crystallize and perpetuate a style. The *Nike* of Samothrace is highly "Pergamenean" in conception and execution; yet it is nowadays very widely claimed as a Rhodian dedication.

Perhaps it is a sign of a general distrust in the validity of geographical disintegration into local schools that no one has yet invented a Maeander School, in spite of extensive finds from Priene and Magnesia, the supposed signature of the sculptor of the *Venus de Milo* as a native of Antioch-on-the-Maeander, and the number of works attributable to Hellenistic Tralles on the

same river. Nor is there yet a mid-Ionian School to account for Samos and Ephesos.

Much more in favor today is a very different approach to the task of marshaling Hellenistic sculpture into orderly ranks—an approach which has everything to recommend it except its utter lack of any but a self-appointed authority. For, cutting across all local differences, and clearly discernible as a sort of common divisor, is sculptural style dependent on period rather than place. But how is it to be identified, described, and assigned to its temporal position? More especially, what causes its shifts and changes?

Innate in German scholarship there seems to be a propensity to take refuge behind imprecise but all-embracing quasi-metaphysical concepts such as *Polarity*, *Zeitgeist*, *Kunstwollen*, Apolline, Dionysiac. Their inexplicable explanations seem to give comfort and reassurance. In the German study of Hellenistic sculpture there have been at least three noteworthy applications of this obscurantist principle:

To THE ART BULLETIN for 1938 (xx, pp. 359-418) the late Valentine Mueller contributed his intriguing schedule for the "Chronology of Greek Sculpture 400-40 B.C.," wherein he appealed to an abstract Law of the Generation Cycle, a rhythmic pulse of tension and relaxation within thirty-year periods, to which unconsciously but unavoidably all sculptors were obligated to conform, no matter what their own birth year or generation might have been. It was possible to make this nonexistent compulsion appear to operate because the exact dates of most Hellenistic sculpture are either unknown or not fixed within a thirty-year margin of certainty.

More than a decade before Valentine Mueller's formulation, Gerhardt Krahmer had contributed an enduringly important essay on "Stilphasen der hellenistischen Plastik" to the *Römische Mitteilungen* for 1923-1924 (xxxviii-xxxix, pp. 138-189) in which he had made a widely recognized application of Polarity by classifying third century poses as *centripetal* because their contours and projections were re-entrant into the solid volume of the block, while second century compositions were *centrifugal* because their movements of pattern and line led the eye outward into surrounding space. There can be no dispute that such a distinction exists, though it may be doubted whether as a system of stylistic classification it is anything more profound than a convenience of descriptive terms. At least, if the *Dancing Faun* and the *Seated Hermes* from the Vesuvian towns copy early third century bronzes of the post-Lysippan school and the hunched-up marble *Poseidippos* of the Vatican derives from the same period, it is demonstrably possible for centrifugal and centripetal compositions to co-exist as exact contemporaries.

Still earlier, in 1919 in "Studien zum antiken Rokoko" (*Öst. Jahreshfte*, xix-xx, pp. 253-267), and in 1921 in "Vom antiken Rokoko," Wilhelm Klein had detected an inherent polarity within European Baroque and Rococo and transferred this notion to Hellenistic antiquity. However, since Klein's ancient Rococo seems largely confined to terracotta figurines and marble stat-

uettes, while the Baroque manner is most truculently alive in lifesize and colossal statuary, the distinction which he drew may more properly have been one of the material medium rather than of consecutive period or a reversal of general taste.

Greek sculpture has long been the special preserve of the classical philologist. To its elucidation he has devoted an exhaustive knowledge of all the legible documents of ancient literature and epigraphy bearing on the topic and a reassuringly complete assemblage of photographic records. From among these he has sorted out the numerous repetitions of stock sculptural types and, having ordered these into groups and families by more or less subjective criteria, has proceeded to distribute them among the various outstanding masters whose names appear on the literary side of the ledger. It has unquestionably been an impressive achievement; but it could hardly fail to be somewhat faulty insofar as a knowledge of Greek and Latin and a knack for sorting photographs is not an entirely adequate substitute for an understanding of sculpture. But more recently various specializing investigators have tried to remedy the deficiency; so that the oncoming generation of scholars can now learn from Blümel how Greek marbles were carved, from Kluge how Greek bronzes were cast, and from Della Seta how human anatomy was presented. There is not yet, however, a proper handbook on the evolution of sculptural style, nor an adequate overall appreciation of Greek sculpture as art; and until these too are at the service of the student, Hellenistic sculpture must remain disordered, vague, and unintelligible. But whatever can be done with the traditional philological inheritance has been excellently presented by Miss Bieber. It is an event of no minor importance to have a photographic album of more than seven hundred well-chosen and on the whole well-reproduced pictures of Greek sculpture and to have these described and discussed with outstanding professional competence under chapter headings which divide the sculpture into schools and the schools into chronological phases.

The result keeps to the traditional lines of German scholarship. Perhaps the circumstance that Miss Bieber's is a reworking of a much earlier project "before 1933, when I planned to write a similar book in German" throws light on her manner and method and explains the type of study which has been the outcome of so many years of preparation. Since it is a European work of a previous generation, but is revived by contact with fresh material from the American museums and carefully scanned so as to include recent advances and discoveries, it is a source book of very great value; yet it presents Hellenistic sculpture from without rather than from within. It is viewing the art historian's task externally to devote more space to a documentary description of the representational subject matter than to a critical enquiry into artistic aims, impulses, and achievements. Thus, several pages are given to a detailed description of the *Apotheosis of Homer* by Archelaos of Priene and a pair of comparatively unimportant Rhodian reliefs, because they comprise so many

separate figures, while the extremely important *Aphrodite* of Cyrene is dismissed with three lines of text, apparently because there is nothing about her that invites objective description. For the work of art as such there is no appropriate aesthetic vocabulary: dead people droop like broken flowers; the collapsed hem-contours on the base, which relate the *Drunken Old Woman* to some mid-fifth century prototype and make possible Waldhauer's insistence that she is indeed the famous Myron's creation, are for Miss Bieber "cascades and waves on the ground, as if to represent the waves of intoxication on which she is swimming,"—the Aesthetic Fallacy indeed. But the reviewer should not abuse the momentary advantage of his *jus loquendi* to belittle a great work because not everything is to his personal liking. Above all, he should not confuse his function with that of the editor and proofreader and take pride in printing a formidable list of picayune *errata* (what good this does, unless perhaps with some view to a potential second edition, is seldom clear!). In the present instance the catch would be negligible:—"the celebrated tombstone of Hegeso is still standing on one of these terraces" *scil.* of the Athenian Kerameikos, (it isn't); "the tombstone of Dexileos stands . . . near the Dipylon gate" (it doesn't); the Lysippan *Eros* unstringing his bow "in the Palazzo Ducale at Venice" is across the square in the Museo Archeologico; and twice (so it cannot be a momentary aberration) Cnidus is spoken of as an island—which would have seriously annoyed Apollo and Herodotus, who knew why it had to remain attached to the mainland. But what difference do such things make for the larger work in hand?

More disturbing is the repetition of the deeply entrenched error of quoting Pliny to the effect that Lysippos' brother, Lysistratos, invented a "process of taking casts from the living face," which, if true, would be a landmark in the history of ancient portraiture and perhaps in the technical history of European sculptural art. Yet the portrait head from Herculaneum which Miss Bieber convincingly accepts as Demetrius Poliorcetes and derives from an original of ca. 290 B.C. perhaps by Teisikrates of the very same school as Lysistratos, shows no trace of having been inspired by a life-mask; nor does any authenticated third century portrait ever suggest such a source. "*Facies*" in Pliny's statement is not to be translated "face" (for which Pliny would more probably have used "*vultus*") but "bodily appearance" or "form," so that Lysistratos' innovation was taking piece-molds of portions of the body as anatomical aids and study-pieces for the workshop. Again, when Pliny says that "there is no Latin word for *συμμετρία*," why translate the term as "symmetry" when there is no English equivalent for the word, either? Or again, the marble *Fanciulla d'Anzio* cannot be both a "precious original" and also the *epithyusa* of Phanis because Pliny attests the latter to have been bronze. But it is only too easy to impart an unfavorable impression by singling out every erroneous or doubtful statement, whereas it is actually the other pan of the critical scales which is more heavily weighted.

In addition to an excellent treatment of the early Hellenistic portraits of philosophers, of the statue of Demosthenes by Polyektos, and an extremely readable description of the great reliefs of the Pergamon Altar of Zeus, there are several more general observations on a higher critical level, such as the dogma that most spatially complex poses were first drawn and carved as reliefs before they took their place in the repertory of plastic statuary in the round, with the interesting corollary observation that there might be as much as a century intervening between the two phases. Again, it is an acute and completely accurate observation that the loss of plastic depth and power characteristic of the Late Hellenistic classicizing style is due to overemphasis on the two-dimensional quality of classic linear forms. This is an excellent explanation why Baroque with all its violent depths of shadow can be succeeded by a weak and shallow linear style, and throws unexpected light on the pathology of sculptural decadence. (Something of very similar sort was to happen again in imperial Rome at the beginning of the third century of our era.) There is more of equal interest, enough to make *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* an enduring work in its field.

Where weakness lies is in the failure to look closely at anatomic detail, at drapery understood not as costume (a topic on which Miss Bieber is a universally recognized authority) but as functional sculptural form, and at technical accomplishment instead of representational content. To cite an instance of each of these offenses:

It is barely credible that the flaccid Subiaco *Youth* with scarcely a muscle in his body should be illustrated side by side with the realistic exhibitionism of the Uffizi *Wrestlers*, and that either of these should be related with the academically classic *Niobids*, and that all these should be made stylistic contemporaries.

That the Alexander Sarcophagus from Sidon and the Amazon Sarcophagus in Vienna should be compared and related as mutually complementary pieces implies that the distinction between functional drapery and naturalistic costume has no visible existence or stylistic significance.

That the head of the sleeping "maenad" in the Terme should be "closely related" to the head of the Barberini *Faun* in Munich and illustrated together on the same page leaves one wondering what they have in common except that both of them are asleep.

Probably it is only ingrained archaeological habit that the two pages of description and typological discussion of the *Venus de Milo* (the modern literature about which up to 1890 alone would according to Reinach fill an octavo volume of 3,000 pages) hazard no conjecture whether it has the slightest artistic importance and show no interest in its repercussions on nineteenth century taste. But perhaps there is justification for the aloof pride with which the art historian maintains that he is writing history and not evaluating art? Miss Bieber has already given us an excellent brochure on "Laocoon: the Influence of the Group since its Rediscovery," so that she seems to have an unchallenge-

able right to devote her column of text to disentangling the two snakes' circuitous career without bothering about Lessing or the portrayal of horror and pain in representational art.

Perhaps it would be only fair to demand of the carping critic what he thinks that he himself could have done if ever he had the patience, persistence, and scholarly knowledge to write a treatise on Hellenistic sculpture. At risk of overstepping the normal function of a book review it might be intriguing to accept Miss Bieber's memorable volume as a source and seek to rearrange its sculptural material to a more exacting pattern in order to trace, at least in general outline, the evolution of Hellenistic sculpture on the criterion of style. Perhaps the clue through the tangled skein would lead as follows:

(1) The trend toward realism (to be understood as the exact reproduction of physical actuality) which underlies the whole course of Greek sculptural evolution, led the fourth century masters to break with the geometrically precise formulas of the established fifth century classic tradition (a) *in the nude* by dulling the sharp boundaries of formal anatomical construction to the more intricate transitions of cohesive surface that living bodies exhibit; (b) *in the drapery* by introducing irrelevant folds and interruptive wrinkles such as wool and linen display in everyday wear; (c) *in poses and composition* by striving to present solid shapes occupying aerial space fully and correctly: statues were not to be conceived and presented as animated contours in a limited number of aspects, but as tridimensionally actualized solids satisfactorily viewable from every available angle.

Such a substitution of the physically actual for the abstractly formal was necessarily a slow process moving with uneven pace. The various masters devoted themselves in varying degree to its different aspects. In terms of the preceding paragraph, Praxiteles seems to have been active in (b), and possibly pioneered in (a), but remained insensitive to (c); whereas Lysippos was the conspicuous innovator in (c), and perhaps little interested in (b). But in one way or another, all the fourth century masters seem to have contributed to the progress of this live, varied, and intensely absorbing phase in the evolution of their art.

(2) It is at this point that the Hellenistic period commences. Without any break in continuity, the forces hitherto operative conspire to force the trend toward realism into still more elaborated phases whereby—

(a) the *anatomy of the nude* (with the feminine now at last as faithfully rendered as the masculine) becomes increasingly observant of detail, the superficial bodily structure of the human animal—especially when it is in action—being in reality a study of extreme intricacy. Since Nature recognizes no obligation to be informative, the revealingly structural pattern of classic tradition becomes less and less emphatic as the notation of actual surface appearance grows more richly exact; and since in the living form an elastic covering veils the precise structure of muscle and sinew beneath, its faithful imitation leads in bronze to a substitution of subtly

graded luminosity for precise linear definition, and in marble to a scouring of the surface to produce a less well articulated but deceptively more convincing *sfumato*.

(b) *drapery* is converted into clothing. Instead of functioning as an artistic device to present in visible sculptural terms the human form beneath, an external mask of costume envelopes, and thus conceals, rather than reveals, the anatomical structure inherent in the block of marble or the shape of bronze. And since clothing in its own right possesses no clear or distinctive structure, but droops curtainlike about its supporting frame, the highly articulate draped forms of classic speech subside into vaguely expressive and ill-defined solid material masses, only the immediate surface of which remains alive with textural indications of crinkled, folded, or adherent cloth. Krahmer's "centripetal" block poses are thus unmetaphysically explained by being realistically motivated.

(c) in *pose and composition* the discovery of spiral torsion as the geometrically correct formula for destroying frontality by confronting every viewpoint produces new poses of enormous interest though not of inexhaustible variety. Contrary to Krahmer's restriction of centrifugal composition to a later period, such axially revolved poses with arms and legs twisting outward into space seem assignable to the immediate followers of Lysippos, since their formula derives directly from Lysippos' favorite device of carrying one arm across to join the other arm so as to turn the upper body away from the lower. A formula so strict in its demands and so precise in its application is hardly consonant with the deliberate freedom of later Hellenistic art.

Since (b) and (c) are contemporary manifestations, the one applying to draped and the other to nude themes, such seemingly contradictory styles as that of the indrawn *Poseidippos* or the heavily mantled *Dionysos* from the Thrasyllus monument and that of the open-limbed *Seated Hermes* or the spatially outspread *Dancing Faun* in Naples can coexist in the same sculptural generation, despite the "polarity" between centripetal and centrifugal poses.

(3) An undramatically naturalistic phase as the successor to this potentially dramatic manner may seem a paradoxical outcome; but it finds its explanation in the observable fact that physical objects, as they really are, being innocent of artistic intent, tend to be aesthetically less emphatic and emotionally less challenging—even though they are often much more elaborately subtle in their forms—than the deliberately artificial devices of classic formulas. Precisely because it studies nature so closely and reproduces it so carefully, the sculpture of the second half of the third century B.C. seems almost disappointingly featureless in its serenity. Instead of a carefully proportioned tectonic order, expressive of concealed dynamic power, the *anatomy* of the nude is now so expertly rendered in shifting transitions and continuous modulations of luminous surface structure that it no longer draws attention to any anatomical canon of its parts. *Clothing*, with textural and structural indications reduced to the commonplace of actual

costume, harmonizes discreetly with the physical shape of its wearer without contributing much to its sculptural comprehension. Spiral torsion, because an aesthetically imposed device of almost mathematical refinement, disappears from the *poses*, which revert to the simpler contours of ordinary human posture. The marble *Aphrodite of Cyrene* in the Terme at Rome—expertly copied in late imperial Roman times from a Hellenistic bronze of the third quarter of the third century B.C.—embodies and displays in exquisite perfection the deceptive simplicity of pose, subtlety of surface, and nonchalant ease of volume, which characterize this phase of unexaggerated Naturalism. The nude *Praying Boy*, once in Berlin, is almost a companion piece to the *Aphrodite*. The fine head of a woman in bronze from Perinthos, now in Athens (and somehow overlooked by Miss Bieber); the lovely portrait heads of Hellenistic queens of this period, such as the Mantua and Boston bronze heads of the third Arsinoe, and the exquisite echoes of such portraits on the coins showing Berenice II of Egypt and Philistis of Syracuse; the marble *Boy from Tralles*, in Stambul, leaning cloaked against a blank stone pier, empty of action yet so sophisticatedly full of charm—works such as these may be used to measure the high quality of this Hellenistic phase which constitutes the least studied and most poorly understood chapter in Greek sculptural history. Perhaps its products are in some ways unexciting; but it would be unfair to apply the critic's sneer, "Trust Nature; do not labor to be dull!," even though the extreme restraint with which the advanced third century delights in naturalistic veridicity has misled more than one student into undervaluing its accomplishments. In any event it greatly belies Pliny's abrupt *cessavit deinde ars* (which may have referred merely to the great Sicyonian bronze foundry, whose Xenokrates he had been utilizing as a source of information). We should at least understand it well enough to see that it is out of its indrawn poses and direct observation of nature that the crouching *Aphrodite* of Doidalsas was created, and that by its devotion to anatomical truth the fifth century pedimental theme of the collapsing warrior was converted into the *Dying Trumpeter* of the Capitoline, who ushers in the next phase of Hellenistic sculpture with its renewed stirring of the craftsman's desire to call attention to his skill.

(4) If we define naturalism as the tendency to record unadorned and undiverted physical fact, we shall have to concede that Nature unmodified, although infinitely attractive in her own state, may become monotonous and uncommunicative in too exact pictorial or sculptural reproduction. As the third century reached its end, Art reacted against Nature. A gust of new impulsive ambition swept away the serenity and subtle quiescence of the naturalistic phase. Perhaps the much abused term baroque may here be applied if it may first be defined as the exploitation of realistic detail for emotional excitation. But for Hellenistic "baroque" we should take care to add that it likewise exploited the unreal formal devices of the classic past. Pergamenean sculpture is redolent of fifth century Attic, from which

it borrows—one might almost say, from which it plunders—to goad naturalism into excitement. Perhaps it is this very fusion of abstract formalism with concrete realism which makes us feel that the titanic reliefs of the Zeus Altar strike so false a note of overdrawn grandiloquence. Yet an isolated figure carved in this superbly skillful manner, such as the *Zeus/Hera* from the Temple of Hera in Pergamon or the carefully landscaped Samothracian *Victory* on her man-of-war pedestal, amaze and beguile without fatiguing us. By combining realistic detail of pose, anatomy, and costume with the unreal abstract formulas of the great classic masters, it was possible to communicate once again the dramatic stir, the sense of superphysical power at rest or in movement, which submissive naturalism had expunged. Of course, in order to be effective, there had to be exaggeration, deliberate tendentious discrimination, a new exploration of the sources of aesthetic emotion in sculptural representation; but the key to early Hellenistic Baroque is not its artificiality or capriciousness or wildness, but its extreme veristic accuracy, its use of the physically possible, however unusual or improbable, to make the timeworn sculptural formulas concord somehow with normal visual experience. It is this extreme respect for anatomical correctness which makes plausible such luridly melodramatic themes as the suicidant Gaul who has killed his wife, the boorish satyr sprawling in drunken sleep, the horribly pendant Marsyas expecting to be flayed.

But it is not overfamiliarity with the real world of clothed and unclothed humanity in action and at rest, nor too great skill in casting their living counterparts in bronze or carving them out of blocks of stone, which is the undoing of the Baroque masters, but their experimentation with the sculptural effects which their unhindered mastery permits them, their probing and prying into the newly-open storeroom of sculpturally possible shapes, their testing of every device of ocular appeal. If it was competition within the accepted laws of abstract form that brought the fifth century to such incredible perfection, it was now competition in creating new devices beyond all accepted lawful practice which made the Asia Minor Late Baroque of the third quarter of the second century B.C. too nearly a pathological aberration to delight any but the clinical specialist today. However, clinical specialists are not uncommon. And since its convulsive and impetuous overstepping of all naturalistic restraint makes Late Baroque instantly recognizable, it is not surprising that its strange products have been assembled and illustrated and commented so extensively that this phase of ancient Greek art is now comparatively familiar to the art historian.

(5) But meanwhile a new and truly great form of sculptural art had been created, contemporary with Baroque and probably classifiable as Baroque in contrast to its preceding classic equivalent, even though no one familiar with the true Baroque of our modern cycle would be tempted to apply such a term to it. I am referring to the art of portraiture. It was a fortunate coincidence—in which a shrewd eye could perhaps detect more than mere accident—which made the height-

ened interest in anatomic realism synchronize with the technical innovation of preparing casting moulds from modeled wax positives. It was thanks to this introduction of the coroplast's more fluid medium into the domain of solid glyptic form, the substitution of *plastikē* for *sculptura*, that portrait heads in lifelike terms, such as European taste approves as adequately individualized likenesses, rather suddenly appear at the turn from the third to the second century B.C.—(the date can be fixed by their appearance on the coins of the Hellenistic rulers). In remarkably brief time the traditional classic faces, constructed by imposing linear definitions of the features (eyes, nose, mouth, and ears) upon the neutral surface of forehead, cheek, and chin, vanish and in their stead appear fully modelled, entirely plastic, and hence to our eyes extremely modern-looking, living faces of men in whose existence we can wholeheartedly believe: witness the bronze head of the angry old man from the sunken wreck off Anticythera and the even more persuasive head from Delos (two priceless possessions of the Athens National Museum, neither of which are illustrated in Miss Bieber's otherwise very satisfactory assembly of Hellenistic portraits), in addition to a magnificent series of dictators, kings, and petty princes, statesmen, and philosophers.

It is the inevitable destiny of successful clichés, formulas, and mannerisms, that they destroy themselves by overuse. Hellenistic Early Baroque, based on a carefully considered diversion of realistic detail to emotional ends, bred Late Baroque, in which these effective devices were exaggerated and distorted until they ceased to be possible imitations of physical actuality. But this new vocabulary of free expressive forms was a godsend to the newly discovered art of realistic portraiture, where the demands of successful mimicry prevented such excesses as the second century stonecutters perpetrated on the draped feminine form. To this same Baroque experimentation in free emotional form we owe, in the more restrained world of portrait sculpture, the unsurpassable imaginary likenesses of the blind Homer and (if Crome's attractive identification for the "pseudo-Seneca" is correct) the distraught and cynical Hesiod.

(6) Baroquism, like archaism, is a *cul-de-sac*. The more intensely it exploits its powers, the more deeply it becomes involved in unreality. Imprisoned within its own artifice, it cannot escape by going forward, but only by retreat and surrender. This is the reason why the baroque periods of intense turmoil are followed by classicistic revivals. But in the eastern Mediterranean world of the opening first century B.C. Greek civilization was no longer optimistically self-confident as of old; and the classic revival in its art was singularly superficial, vapid, and unsure. In statuary there are the Philiskos dedications from Thasos in Stambul, and for relief we have the frigid Lakrateides slab in Eleusis, to show how empty of artistic feeling and emotional fervor such a reversion to the dead past could be. In documents such as these, the parallelism of modeled light and shadow along nervously vibrant ridges and valleys of the true classic style have been misinterpreted

as mere orderly repetition of close coursing lines; the spatial restriction of classic contour has been recorded as mere shallow patternization; frontality is a mere surrender of Hellenistic freedom of pose. What was most vital and vivid in the classic style was savored only as traditional mannerism. To all appearances, the stereotyped Praxitelean feminine heads, the tedious linear drapery, the idle assumption of grandeur in colossal gods and godlike mortals, mark the oncoming senility of an art that had matured magnificently through half a thousand years.

(7) Then Rome intervened in sculptural, as in political, history—Rome which at last, after protracted indifference, had become persuaded that not merely Greek literature and Greek philosophy, but also Greek artistry represented a higher civilization in which the politically and economically dominant Roman might fitly and profitably share. Under the consequent stimulation of heightened appreciation for the old, and costly commission for the new, the Greek sculptors felt new life stirring in their moribund workshops. From the generation of Cicero and Sulla, through Lucullus and Caesar, into the rule of Octavian Augustus, a Greek renaissance took place. That it was a real renaissance, and not merely a continuance of the weak Late Hellenistic classicistic revival, constitutes its genuine importance for the history of ancient art. Yet it is only beginning to be properly appreciated or its work correctly identified. Much that was generally mistaken for earlier Hellenistic—the much copied and widely known head of Vergil, the bronze *Seated Boxer* and his lordly companion, the *Hellenistic Ruler* of the Terme, the superb bronze head of *Brutus* in the Conservatori, the brutal bronze boxer's head from Olympia in the Athens National Museum, the brilliant marble group of *Laokoon* (to mention only a few out of a considerable number)—is stylistically assignable to this Late Republican phase of Hellenistic sculpture and cannot be properly evaluated in any other context. Much of its style is borrowed, to be sure, so that the Vergil head could be wrongly identified as Menander (though its stylistic echoes are not drawn from the early third century in any event); the *Boxer* could be related to the mysterious early fourth century Demetrios of Alopeke, the "first realist in Greek sculpture" (until the half-effaced signature of Apollonios Nestoros on a thong of his glove put him where he belonged); the *Brutus* could be classed as Etruscan (though there never was a Hellenistic resurrection from the dead in Romanized Etruria); the *Laokoon* could be rightly compared, but wrongly associated chronologically, with the Pergamian Altar of Zeus.

(8) Then came a drastic and fateful reform. About the middle of Augustus' long reign—we do not know by whose counsel or decision—the official sculpture of the imperial court broke with contemporary Hellenistic tradition to immerse itself even more deeply in fifth century classic with an intent to create for Rome a second Golden Age of art like that when Polykleitos and Pheidias were supreme. Witness the *Ara Pacis* of 13-9 B.C. which by no accident ignores the Roman

realistic love of setting and environment to carve a double file of tall spaceless figures reminiscent of the stately procession of the Parthenon frieze; witness the finely carved statue of Augustus from Prima Porta, where the emperor is shown in the armor of a Roman *imperator* but in the sculptural guise of a Polykleitan Doryphoros. Even on the imperial coinage the likeness of the emperor changes (about the time of the *Ara Pacis*) from a living head in the Late Hellenistic manner to an unreal classic idealization. Just as Vergil shifted from a Theocritean to an Homeric manner, and Horace adopted the meters of the early Greek lyric poets for his artificially perfect odes, and Ovid versified the old Greek myths with an elegance worthy of La Fontaine, so the sculptors accepted for their work, in a period of mature realistic comprehension, the unrealistic canons of the fifth and fourth century masters. The Hellenistic phase of Greek sculpture was ended.

RHYS CARPENTER
*American School of Classical
Studies at Athens*

FRIEDRICH GORISSEN, "Jan Maelwael und die Brüder Limburg; eine Nimweger Künstlerfamilie um die Wende des 14. Jhs.," *Vereeniging tot beoefening van Geldersche geschiedenis, oudheidkunde en recht, Bijdragen en mededelingen*, deel LIV (1954), Pp. 153-221. (Reprint).

The documents published here for the first time, and for the most part hitherto unknown, come from the Gelder Archives at Arnhem and Nijmegen. They date from 1318 (the first reference to the name Maelwael) to 1460 (the last reference to one of the children of Metta, sister of Jan Maelwael and mother of the Limburg brothers). Most important for the history of art are those dating from 1382 (the first reference to a Maelwael as a painter) to 1416 (September/October, when all three artist Limburg brothers are stated to be dead). The unpublished documents have been fitted together by Dr. Gorissen with those already known, thus establishing a much more complete chronology of this the greatest known painter family of the turn of the fourteenth century. All the pertinent parts of the original documents are given in chronological order. As a guide to the complex facts contained in them, Dr. Gorissen has compiled two very useful tables: a Maelwael-Limburg family tree, and a chronological table of references to members of the two families, together with names of their patrons and places where they were employed.

It is surprising that the Arnhem documents, of which a very few were published by Van Hasselt as long ago as 1806, would have attracted no notice subsequently. Moreover, just recently (1952) they were described, and a few, chiefly those concerning Jan Maelwael, were published in the Appendix to *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*, in the hope of arousing interest in a full publication of them. Thus it is an enormous satisfaction to see them at last competently dealt with, both

in respect to the documents themselves, insofar as they bear on the history of art, and in the discussion of their background and significance. It is only a pity that, since the periodical in which they are published is not well known in this country even though a reprint is available, the documents may still remain comparatively unknown to American scholars.

It is true that the new items mainly confirm and supplement the few documented facts already known about Jan Maelwael and the Limburg brothers, and that nothing appears in the documents in direct contradiction to these facts. But it is as if a window had been opened on the whole problem, letting in fresh air where the stale air had long been blown about by the fan of controversy. The stimulus of this fresh air should now kindle new enthusiasm in the pursuit of the will-o'-the-wisp origins of the Van Eycks and their forerunners.

Jan Maelwael himself always has been a man of mystery. He turns up in 1396 in Paris, coming from no one knows where, as a sufficiently competent artisan to be entrusted with a commission from Queen Isabeau de Bavière, wife of Charles VI, making designs for cloth of gold and velvet. He is mentioned as "living" in Paris, which may indicate that he was not attached to her court. Since the commission is dated September 20, 1396, and payment was made March 27, 1397, he had been living in Paris at least six months, perhaps longer. The new documents throw some light on his earlier life and training. He was the son of Willem Maelwael who, with Herman Maelwael probably his brother, was regularly employed between 1386 and 1396/7 in heraldic work for William duke of Gelder (1379-1402). Jan is mentioned twice in 1387 as receiving payment on behalf of his father for some of this work. Whether he left Gelder soon after this or remained, there is no evidence to show, but he does not appear in the Gelder documents again. The significance of this early documentary item lies in the indication it gives of the kind of training to which Jan was exposed as a member of a family of heraldic painters. Such training could account for his competence to undertake a commission for so important a person as Queen Isabeau. It may well be, also, as Dr. Gorissen points out, that Catherine, wife of William duke of Gelder and great aunt of Isabeau, recommended Jan to her. The Maelwael family is shown by the documents to have been established in Nijmegen, a town with wide commercial contacts which undoubtedly helped to pave the way for the scattering of its members in Gelder, in Paris and, later, in Burgundy and other parts of France.

The later history of Jan Maelwael, after his appearance in Paris, is well documented. One possible additional item is offered by Dr. Gorissen's deduction that since Maelwael is not mentioned in the Burgundian documents in the year 1405, following the death of his patron duke Philippe le Hardi, he may have returned to Nijmegen and have married, probably as his second wife, Heilwig, who, as indicated by some later litigation over property inherited by her and by her husband, was the daughter of Albert de Redinc-

haven of Nijmegen. Other documentary evidence, if correctly interpreted by Dr. Gorissen, supports this fact. In any case, Heilwig, who is first mentioned by name in 1413, had four children still referred to as *pueri* in 1420. There seems to have been no "artist tradition" in the family of Heilwig.

Jan Maelwael had no brothers but one sister, Mech-teld or Metta, who married Master Arnold "beelden-snijder" (figure carver) variously named "of Limburg," "of Aachen," and "Maelwael" from his wife's family. It is assumed that he or earlier generations of his family had settled first at Aachen and later in Limburg. Dr. Gorissen identified this Limburg as the modern Dutch province which lies close to Aachen, rather than the modern Belgian Limburg which, he thinks, was preferred by Durrieu because the town of Maeseyck, traditional birthplace of the Van Eycks, lies within it. In 1389 this Arnold "beeldensnijder" was paid for work done for William duke of Gelder. He was dead in 1410 and may have died before 1400 when the well known but controversial document describing the retention of his two children, nephews of Jan Maelwael, in Brussels, refers to their mother alone. Besides these two children of Metta and Arnold (whose identity, in spite of the variation in the spelling of their names, Dr. Gorissen does not question) there were four more: Pol, who, the evidence indicates, was the eldest and one of the three who married; Arnold, Margareta (Greta), the only daughter, and Rutger (Roger). About Arnold the younger we know that he entered the workshop of a Nijmegen goldsmith in April 1417, under a six years' agreement, and that he was married in 1419. Greta is mentioned in 1417 as married to a merchant, Derik Neven of Nijmegen. And Rutger, presumably through the influence of his artist brothers then employed by John, duke of Berry, was appointed Canon of the Collegiate Chapter of the Ste-Chapelle at Bourges, an office he held till his death in 1435. Metta Maelwael (Limburg) died between March 23 and June 30, 1414.

Concerning the artist Limburg brothers, a document of March 9, 1416, provides for the possessions of "quondam Johannis dicti Jenneken Maelwael filii quondam magistri Arnoldi per obitum eiusdem Jenneken. . . ." Another document of September/October of the same year mentions all three of the brothers as dead. Dr. Gorissen assumes that they died at or near the same time, perhaps in an epidemic. In any case, he thinks it most probable, on the strength of this evidence, that the *Très riches heures*, which was inventoried as incomplete at the death of the Duke of Berry, was interrupted not by the Duke's death but by that of all three artists who were working on it.

This is the gist of the new Gelder documents with reference to their contribution to the history of art. But there are implications which reach beyond the bare facts. These may be discussed briefly under two heads: the localization and background of this great double-branched artist family, and the significance of the early training of Jan Maelwael and of the artist Limburg brothers.

It is not surprising to find the Gelder origins of the Maelwael-Limburg families confirmed. The two young Limburg brothers who were detained and ransomed in Brussels were described as on their way home to Gelder where they lived, and on the basis of family relationship, Jan Maelwael, their uncle, was assumed also to be of Gelder origin. Nijmegen, however, has never been known as an art center and one would not have guessed it to be their home. And, in fact, it was much more of a commercial than an art center. The localization of the Maelwaels and Limburgs, as Dr. Gorissen points out, is a matter not of a local "school" of artists but purely a family affair. Ever since the publication of Hoogwerff's *De noord-nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, Part I, in 1936, Gelder has been indicated, with more or less conviction, as the possible cradle of the lusty new Netherlandish style in painting and sculpture which invaded France at the end of the fourteenth century. But, documentary evidence was meager and artistic evidence equally scarce. Nor was there any evidence that William, duke of Gelder and Juliers, was a patron of the arts though he is reported to have been inordinately fond of tournaments and displays of arms. These activities required, as the new Gelder documents show, the full-time labor of two heraldic painters. The position of Gelder, lying largely between the Dutch Lower Rhine and the Maas rivers, was strategic for the passage and interchange of currents of trade and hence of art from west Germany (Cologne and Westphalia), eastern Germany (Bohemia) and probably even Italy. Contacts overseas with Scandinavian and English ports were maintained through the powerful Hanseatic League to which in the fourteenth century both Arnhem and Nijmegen belonged. But beyond this general situation no evidences were known of artistic activity in Gelder which was lively enough to produce three generations of outstanding artists at the turn of the century who were sufficiently gifted to be employed at the courts of Gelder, Burgundy, and Berry. The milieu of Nijmegen *per se* could hardly account for this phenomenon. The puzzle still is, therefore, where and how did these artists learn their craft and whence came the new elements of style which found such a welcome at the courts of France where only the best artists were employed? The documents which might throw light on this important problem for the second and third generations of the Maelwael-Limburg family would fall between the years 1387 and 1396 and these, unfortunately, are still lacking. But now that so much has been discovered in unsuspected sources perhaps still more will come to light for this crucial decade.

Since Jan Maelwael's father, Willem, and his uncle Herman (whom I incorrectly identified as Jan's brother) were heraldic painters, it is safe to assume that Jan's early training was in this branch of art. How old he was in 1387 when first mentioned in the documents one can only guess; at any rate he had reached a responsible age. If he was living with his father at the Gelder court, he would have seen, and perhaps assisted with, the grinding of colors and other small

jobs, in a busy round of painting of heraldic crests on shields, banners, tournament equipment, even of figures in the round as borne on helmets, all of which required a technique fundamentally different from that of illumination and miniature painting in manuscripts. The drawing for heraldic painting must be bold and true, colors must be strong and clear so as to be unmistakably recognizable, and where figures were represented, a good heraldic painter would soon discover that they showed up much better if the heavy pigments were shaded with light and dark tones. Dr. Gorissen has illustrated this fact very well by reproducing several pages of heraldic arms from the famous Gelder heraldry book known as the *Wapenboek* of the Herald Gelre (ms 15652-56 in the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels). This manuscript (without going into the many contradictory opinions put forward about it during past years) now seems to be proven by some of the heraldry itself to date in the last decades of the fourteenth century and therefore in the very period for which there are records for Willem and Herman Maelwael's work for the Duke. Dr. Gorissen argues, with reason it seems to me, that a herald, familiar though he had to be with the technique of painting heraldic devices, could hardly be expected to be able to produce also paintings of such high quality as the portrait of the herald Gelre and a remarkable miniature representing the Emperor and the seven electors (fol. 26) and, I would add, a wonderfully modeled girl's head on a single coat of arms (fol. 15v) which, for some unexplained reason, is painted in so remarkable a technique that it stands out from the rest of the heraldic painting in the book. A full discussion of this style was included in *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* because of the strong similarity between the remarkable *Wapenboek* style and that of some of the miniatures, called Dutch, in the Missal. Now Dr. Gorissen has put forward the hypothesis that the artist of the extraordinary miniature in the *Wapenboek* might very well have been Herman Maelwael who, a Gelder document states, was commissioned in 1390 by the herald Gelre to paint "drien aventueren" (three pictures). There is no evidence as to what these pictures were for, nor is there any reason to assume that they are the ones in the *Wapenboek*. The evidence is simply that Herman Maelwael was a picture painter as well as an heraldic painter. If the Dutch miniatures in the Carmelite Missal are, as I think, by the same hand as the miniatures in the *Wapenboek* and if this artist were Herman Maelwael, we would have to assume that he was in England and as a matter of fact, it is altogether likely that he actually did accompany the Duke of Gelder on his visit to England in 1390. Since we have gone so far with what may seem to be a digression from the Gelder documents, I should like to emphasize the distinction between a possible attribution of the Missal miniatures to Herman Maelwael and their attribution to another Herman who worked in England, Herman Scheerre, who, I feel convinced and have repeatedly so stated, had nothing whatever to do with the miniatures in the Carmelite Missal. It

would seem, in fact, that while Herman Maelwael is of the right generation, for the painting of the Missal, Herman Scheerre is of the next generation, contemporary, that is, with Jan Maelwael rather than with his uncle.

But hypothetical attributions apart, one may be reasonably sure, from the documents, that the Gelder court was the milieu in which young Jan Maelwael received his first training and this fact, as already noted, can explain the nature of the earliest work we find him engaged in for Isabeau de Bavière. But the next thing we hear of him he is not only doing heraldic work for the Duke of Burgundy but has been commissioned to paint five large altarpieces for the Chartreuse of Champmol at Dijon. The technique of heraldic painting would have helped to prepare him for such monumental painting, but if his uncle Herman was also a painter, Jan may have learned much more than heraldic painting from him. It is, however, worth noting in this connection that Melchior Broederlam, whose altarpiece wings Jan Maelwael and other artists at the Burgundian court were called upon to judge as satisfactory according to the terms of the contract before payment was made, also is recorded in the Burgundian documents as doing heraldic work for the Duke. And one need hardly add the well-known fact that Jan van Eyck, court painter to the Duke of Burgundy from 1426, was often likewise so engaged. So the documents pointing to Maelwael's early training place him easily in the category of painters rather than of illuminators. But one would like to know where he was and what he was doing between 1387 and 1396.

The Limburgs, on the other hand, evidently had training of a different kind. Of Pol, the eldest, we know absolutely nothing as to what this was or where he got it, though there seems no doubt, judging from what is identified as his style, that he was at some time in Italy. Of his two younger brothers we know that they were for a time apprenticed to a goldsmith in Paris. But it is noteworthy that only two years later they were employed as illuminators at the Burgundian court, and it would seem that between the Paris apprenticeship and 1402 they matured as illuminators either through additional training or experience or both. If we knew where Pol was at this time, the riddle might be solved. Goldsmith work required a fineness of technique and a precision of linear drawing which would also be needed for miniatures, but apart from this and the skill in the use of gold and perhaps of colors, such training would hardly be adequate in itself to produce competent illuminators. So this puzzle too still remains to be solved.

In the meantime, pending further light on the problem, it may perhaps be permissible to hazard a guess as to one source of the Maelwael-Limburg art. This is not entirely without foundation though the evidence is no weightier than straws in the wind. It is of two kinds: stylistic and documentary.

Two remarkable miniatures in the Canon of a Parisian Missal of ca. 1400 in the University Library at Heidelberg (ms Salem 9 A, fols. 98 and 99) are

painted, so far as can be judged from the photographs, by different hands but in closely related styles showing equally fine quality. More than fifty years ago they both were attributed by Reinach to Jan Maelwael (see *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3rd ser., 31, 1904, pp. 55-65). The first of the two miniatures, representing God the Father enthroned, with the Evangelists and their symbols (fig. 1), is very close in the type of figure and throne to the Beauneveu prophets in the Brussels Hours (ms 11060-61). This is elegant, Franco-Flemish style at its very best, and one thinks at once of Pol Limburg at an earlier period than the *Très riches heures*. The second miniature in the Heidelberg Missal is a crowded *Crucifixion* (fig. 2) with landscape background including "Sienese hills" as in the Broederlam wings at Dijon. The mood is dramatic and the picture suggests the narrative tension of a panel painting rather than the formal elegance of manuscript illumination. In fact, the composition, the mood, and even many of the figures are almost identical with those in the so-called *Small Crucifixion* by the Veronica Master, a leading figure in the Cologne school of this period. This miniature, it seems to me, could very easily be by the painter Maelwael, though of course it is impossible to come to any certain conclusion without studying the original.

A small amount of documentary evidence further supports the theory of Cologne influence. In the Gelder and other documents there are four references to a painter called Herman of Cologne:

1) In 1388/89 he was paid by William duke of Gelder for work he did for the "Preachers" in Cologne (Gelder, Household Accts., 218, fol. 35, not published by Gorissen).

2) In 1401/2 Herman of Cologne was helping Jan Maelwael to paint the crucifix and other figures at the Chartreuse of Champmol at Dijon, i.e., the so-called *Well of Moses* by Claus Sluter (Gorissen, no. 78).

3) In December 1419, Herman of Cologne was paid forty gold crowns owing to him by Arnold de Lymborch, nephew of Jan Maelwael and brother of Pol, Jean and Herman (Gorissen, no. 159).

4) In 1419 Herman of Cologne was working for Isabeau de Bavière in Paris (*Nouvelles Archives*, p. 180, pub. by Durrieu in Michel, *Hist. de l'art*, III, 150).

If these items all refer to the same "Herman of Cologne" he seems to have been closely tied up with the Gelder and Paris courts and with the Maelwael-Limburg group. Even though his influence on any of these artists may not have been important, the Cologne connection together with the evident affinity between the *Crucifixion* by the Veronica Master, whoever he was, and the Heidelberg miniature may be significant. It is evident that, now more than ever, a thorough investigation of all the known works in any way associated with the names of Maelwael and Limburg is needed.

Finally, Dr. Gorissen has introduced, as full measure for his rich contributions, a possible new attribution of a painting to Jan Maelwael. Although he



1-2. Heidelberg, University Library, MS Salem 9 A, Parisian Missal, fols. 98, 99



modestly disclaims any competence in dealing with stylistic problems of art history, one cannot help feeling, if the color reproduction represents accurately the style of the original, that his eye has served him well in attributing to Jan Maelwael the fine Kranenburg Altarpiece, recently cleaned and now revealing, he points out, its original late fourteenth-early fifteenth century form and beauty. Naturally its style cannot be analyzed without study of the original, but the attribution to Maelwael looks promising.

Altogether, the publication of this varied material on the Maelwael-Limburg families is by far the most stimulating contribution to the study of this crucial period in art history that has been made in a very long time.

MARGARET RICKERT
University of Chicago

MILTON W. BROWN, *American Painting from the Armory Show to the Depression*, Princeton University Press, 1955, Pp. xii + 244; 156 ill. \$15.00.

It used to be said that students of English literature were writing more and more about less and less. If Milton Brown's book inaugurates such a tendency in the history of American art it is a welcome one, for we have had during the last decade or so a number of general surveys covering large areas of the field and too few with a narrower focus and a deeper penetration. The Armory Show took place in 1913, the depression in 1929. Actually Mr. Brown covers a slightly longer span than the sixteen years implied by his title, for he starts with *The Eight*, who had their now famous exhibition in 1908, and he makes a few forays into the early 1930's. Still, his period is a scant quarter-century, less than a generation, a moment of turmoil and change in American painting, a moment, too, with its own historical flavor, which emerges pungently in these pages.

Milton Brown has an independent turn of mind, which accounts for both the strongest and weakest points of his book. On the credit side, he has dug deeper than previous historians, taking little for granted, and has come up with both new material and new insights. His best chapters, I think, are those which deal with the social climate of the era, the ways in which it affected and was affected by the various artistic movements. His treatment of the professional critics includes, for example, an admirable résumé of their personalities and their attitudes, some *pro* but mostly *con* modernism. To Kenyon Cox he gives overdue recognition for "rational ability and an historical understanding," which were noticeably absent in the diatribes of other academic spokesmen. He is particularly good in his analysis of Leo Stein's paradoxical behavior, and he draws an apt parallel between the psychopathic bigotry of F. Wellington Ruckstuhl and Hitlerian aesthetics. He covers at some length the criticism of Mather, Cortisoz, Mechlin, Brinton, du Bois, McBride, Caffin, Hunecker, Laurvik, Willard Huntington Wright and

Duncan Phillips, all with much perception. I wish he had extended this chapter to include also Benjamin De Casseres, John Weichsel and especially Marius de Zayas and Paul B. Haviland, whose joint essay, *A Study of the Modern Evolution of Plastic Expression*, published as a pamphlet in 1913, is an historically important document. Even so, this is a useful contribution, which makes the criticism of that day (so often bewildered and angry) understandable in terms of the experiences, the beliefs, and the personalities of the principal actors.

The author's brief history of collecting is equally illuminating. He points out that the first private collectors of "modern" art in this country, such as Arthur Jerome Eddy, Katherine Dreier, A. E. Gallatin, Ferdinand Howald, and Duncan Phillips, differed fundamentally from the Morgans, Wideners, and Fricks of the preceding generation. Most of them were cultured men and women living on inherited incomes, rather than captains of industry in their own right; many of them wrote and lectured about modern art or "institutionalized their collections for educational purposes rather than as memorials"—a significant distinction. It was only in the 1920's, and particularly after the John Quinn sales had proved dramatically the booming monetary value of modern art, that the earlier type of collector invaded the field, buying for prestige and investment as much as for pleasure, and without the proselytizing zeal of the pioneers.

The interaction of modernism and conservatism throughout these years, their battles and compromises, is the subject of some of Mr. Brown's most brilliant writing. Unlike many critics, he does not accept the academic attitude as simply one of unthinking reaction, but points out that it was formed "by two apparently contradictory concepts—tradition and progress." Tradition, to the academic mind, meant the tested values in the great art of the past. Progress meant a "scientific" study of the so-called immutable laws which determined those values, and which, properly applied to art of the present, should logically lead to a still higher perfection. In one of his most fascinating chapters, that on pseudo-science, the author demonstrates how the same fallacy eventually trapped certain artists who had been influenced to some degree by the modern movements, but who were unable to accept modernism's apparently anarchic character. In this dilemma, they turned to a strange variety of "scientific" theories such as Hambidge's Dynamic Symmetry, the musical color notations of Maratta, the aesthetic system of Denman Ross and Gustav Eisen's theory of inhalation. "While European artists, in a more truly scientific spirit, were investigating new aesthetic concepts of form and color, Americans were attempting to establish immutable principles. While a Picasso or a Matisse was drawing inspiration from the wealth of historical styles, these men were searching in the past for some eternal principle which would anchor art so they could get aboard." How typically American, in a way, was their error, their faith that art could be reduced to system, that

system was one with science and science universally applicable.

On the work of those artists who engage his sympathies Mr. Brown writes with exceptional insight and justice. Often he shows a faculty for revealing the essence of character and style with an economy that approaches aphorism. "The basis of [Robert] Henri's character was an ethical concept of justice. . . . His radicalism was nothing but an unshakable conviction that truth was more virtuous and more important than tradition. . . . Henri never achieved in his art an adequate expression of his ideals. That remained for his teaching." He is equally good on the early group of social realists who centered around Henri, and he has done a real service in calling attention to Everett Shinn's nearly forgotten murals in Trenton, New Jersey.

Unfortunately, the author's true sympathies seem strictly limited to those artists with a strong "social" orientation, and his whole book is based on a tenaciously held scale of values in which art with a social message outranks all other forms. To him, our pioneer modernists of the century were victims of a schism between art and life; art, for them, "was either an emanation of some inner urge or a personal reaction to reality." Modernism was "an escape from social problems and a revolt against the established artistic forms." There is, of course, an element of truth in these statements. The crux of the matter is how you interpret them, and especially what qualitative judgments you attach to them. In both areas I differ with Mr. Brown, for I do not believe that one can set up a single standard of values on so narrow a base, and that if you do, logic inevitably leads you (as I feel it has the author) to patently false conclusions.

In the first place, I do not think that the opposition between modernists and realists was nearly so marked in America as it was abroad, and not nearly so much as Mr. Brown implies. How many ivory-tower geniuses, isolated by their own choice from contemporary life, did we actually have? Perhaps the synchronists come nearest to qualifying, but their role was brief and small. On the other hand, our futurists were as deeply concerned with the city as were the social realists, though certainly in a different sense. Marin's deep concern with Maine, Weber's with Jewish life, Dove's with farm and waterfront, the Immaculates' with our machine civilization are not evidence of escape aesthetics but rather of an instinctive effort to apply what these artists had learned from modernism to an expression of their own experience within the American milieu.

But this is not enough for Mr. Brown, who blames them not so much for their concern with these things but rather because it is a private concern that fails to treat the social adjustment of all men to such aspects of American life. Speaking of the futurists and the Immaculates (whom he rebaptizes the Cubist-Realists), he says, "Today it is clear that no art of that time was capable of handling the complex problems of social relationships in modern industrial life." And in the work of Niles Spencer and certain others he finds only "a

desert of geometry without life or atmosphere, a neat wasteland in which people and their activities are out of place. . . . This creation of a Purist three-dimensionality within a vacuum defeats *its own purpose*; for in removing all reference to human activity it reduces the structures in size and significance." The italics are mine; they are there because I wonder whether Mr. Brown really understands these artists' purpose. Certainly it was not to solve problems of social relationships in our industrial civilization. Rather, I think, it was to capture the total impact of that civilization (or certain mechanistic aspects of it) on the artist's senses—an impact that was joyful and triumphant in the case of Stella, but gently melancholy and tinged with loneliness in much of Spencer's work. These are admittedly opposed and private reactions; nevertheless they are ones that stir an answering sympathy in many hearts. Their art, though private in inception, is not private in its meaning; it is as truly social, in the broader sense of the word, as an art which proposes better wages or an eight-hour day.

Mr. Brown's uncompromising demand for a social message in art leads him to blame many realists, as well as modernists, for their defection. Indeed, he is often harder on them for not grasping a tool more nearly within their reach. Even the "Ash Can School" disappoints him in the final reckoning. "It had lacked both trenchancy in criticism and the ability to initiate enthusiasm, and was eventually revealed as a sentimental reflection of social unrest." Reginald Marsh gets a credit mark for his "concern with the common man," but an implied demerit for being "no profound social commentator." And the whole Fourteenth Street group, despite many virtues, "was motivated by an interest in the picturesque, in spectacle, in action and in local color. If there was criticism, it was only by implication."

In the case of artists whose reputation is more firmly established, like Hopper and Burchfield, the process is likely to be reversed, the author reading into their work more social criticism than they ever intended, and this despite their explicit statements to the contrary. "Although Hopper pretends to objectivity, the very asceticism of his manner assumes a critical significance." Though he quotes Burchfield's statement about his early Salem watercolors ("I was not indicting Salem, Ohio, but was merely giving way to a mental mood, and sought out the scenes that would express it . . ."), he concludes that Burchfield's picture of America "was essentially critical," and that it was "an indictment of the effects of modern industrialism." Such an attitude leads to strangely warped judgments on other aspects of these artists' work. Since he has cast them in the role of critical realists, Mr. Brown will allow them no concern with beauty. "During this period neither Hopper nor Burchfield was concerned with beauty in itself. . . . In all of Burchfield's water colors there is no single brushstroke which can compare with the translucent brilliance of a Marin wash, in all of Hopper's work there is no patch of color to match the jewel-like richness of a Weber paint passage." But

beauty wears many aspects. When Hopper painted the harsh brilliance of sunlight on a mansard roof, I suspect he did so with as purely aesthetic a delight as Burchfield expressed when he wrote in his journal of the beauty of the intervals between freight cars or stood rapt in the train yards, "drinking in through my eyes the soot-and-smoke-blackened surfaces, the coal-dust filmed earth, the gleaming rails." The apprehension of this kind of beauty has nothing to do, on the one hand, with social consciousness, nor, on the other, with Marin's and Weber's sense of beauty. It is fruitless to force the latter relation in order to prove the former.

Logically, Mr. Brown's greatest enthusiasm is reserved for those artists who were professedly social commentators and reformers—especially William Gropper, whom he considers America's outstanding graphic artist of the 1920's (his paintings came after the period covered by the book). The author has some perceptive and original things to say about Gropper's unquestioned power as a cartoonist, which sprang, he believes, from the artist's assimilation of the symbolic political cartoon to his own satirical realism. I was also interested, if not entirely convinced, by Mr. Brown's explanation of why social protest art was limited during these years almost exclusively to illustrations for such magazines as the *Liberator*, *Good Morning*, and the *New Masses*. "One of the major reasons for this absence of a social consciousness in the 'fine' arts was that such manifestations could find no patronage. It is axiomatic that a social art cannot exist in any strength or health on isolated individual patronage and without organized or institutional support. The only alternative to such patronage is in mass distribution or circulation, which then, and even now, limited the artist to the graphic media."

In his Epilogue, the author concludes that the 1920's at least produced a sharpening of social consciousness and thus prepared the way for the more extensive social art which followed the depression. He ends on the ideological note that permeates his book. "In a democracy where responsibility was being demanded with a new urgency of each individual as a partner in a social contract the artist cared less to argue his exceptionalism or make claim that his responsibility was to be free. He found that responsibility and freedom were contradictory only in the abstract. In the concrete he was finding it possible to be free yet work as a social being responsible to his fellow-citizens." This has a fine ring, but does not entirely coincide with the facts. At least one thinks of Stuart Davis, who found that his social responsibilities during the depression turned him not toward a social art but away from painting entirely for a number of years. And one wonders how much of the vast sea of socially conscious art that washed around the acknowledged pinnacles of Shahn, Evergood and Levine will survive the test of time. In these same depression years Marin, Dove, Weber, Hartley, Feininger, Hopper, Burchfield, Gorky, Demuth, Sheeler, Kuniyoshi, Rattner, Watkins, Blume, Albright and a good many other artists of equal or nearly equal stature were pursuing their "ivory-tower,"

nonsocial visions, leaving us a body of work which I, for one, would not willingly trade for the paintings of the socially conscious group, fine as some of these unquestionably were.

I also have a few smaller bones to pick with Mr. Brown on the organization of his book. Except for some chapters on general subjects, the rest deal with individual movements such as the Cubist Tradition, the Studio Picture, Fourteenth Street School, etc. Unfortunately, the author has a tendency to classify artists rather than works of art, and many of our artists have worked in more than one direction. Thus Max Weber's fairly extensive experiments with cubism and futurism are described in the chapter called "The Fauve Tradition," where Marin's debt to cubism also incongruously appears. One could cite a number of similar instances but I shall limit myself to the oddest, which is certainly the inclusion of Kuniyoshi among "the studio painters"—not, the author explains, because his work of the 1920's belongs there, but because his mature painting of the 1930's (which is outside the scope of this book) seems, to Mr. Brown, to place him with that group. And what, one would like to ask, of his even more mature work done after World War II, which should surely put him right back in the expressionist ranks again? The only answer to this kind of a dilemma in a book devoted to movements is to classify paintings, not persons.

This method of dealing with artists one-by-one within the framework of a single movement leads the author into other difficulties. At least I suspect that a reason for the signal neglect of American futurism in the book is probably that we had only one outstanding futurist, Joseph Stella, and that Mr. Brown may have been loath to build a whole chapter around a single man. In any case, there is none on this fairly widespread movement, which affected so many minor artists and had at least a passing influence on others of greater stature. Stella is forcibly transplanted among the "Cubist-Realists," while the futurist aspects of work by Weber, Feininger and Demuth is noted piecemeal in the various chapters in which they are treated. David Burliuk's "Radio Style" (his flamboyant personal brand of futurism) is not mentioned at all.

Still another difficulty in this approach stems from the fact that the book covers a relatively short period, and many of the artists are seen only in tantalizing fragments. Even painters of the older generation, such as Hopper, Weber, Dove, and Hartley, often did their best work after 1930, so that we get a peculiarly truncated view of them here, as individuals. This is not so serious for those who know the field well, but must be bewildering to the young student and the casual reader. In any case, it seems unnecessary and a further argument for a true approach by movements rather than by individuals.

Finally, I wish Mr. Brown had dated his illustrations in the captions. He does so in the text, but unfortunately the titles in the text do not always coincide with the titles in the captions, which makes for a certain amount of confusion. Having said this, I should

like to add that the author's selection of illustrations is excellent. He has included most of the well known paintings of the period, the ones which form, as it were, its indispensable landmarks, and has supplemented these with many others of equal or nearly equal quality which will be unfamiliar to many readers and which add greatly to the interest of his book. An index and an admirable bibliography complete the volume.

I have disagreed with Mr. Brown on some of his major premises, but I must say that I found his book an extraordinarily stimulating one and not nearly so lopsided critically as the work of certain writers in the "modernist" camp. Indeed it is an excellent antidote to purely aesthetic criticism—an antidote which is difficult to find these days in serious and thoughtful form and without the emotional animadversions of Robsjohn-Gibbings or sanity-in-artism. Mr. Brown speaks with a strongly partisan voice, but if you grant him his initial premises, what he has to say is always logical, tolerant, and perceptive.

JOHN I. H. BAUR

Whitney Museum of American Art

WILL GROHMANN, *Paul Klee*, New York, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., n.d. (1955). Pp. 448; 472 ill. (including 40 color plates). \$15.00.

WERNER HAFTMANN, *The Mind and Work of Paul Klee*, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1954. Pp. 213; 35 pls. \$5.00.

Both of these volumes are valuable additions to the perhaps overplentiful bibliography concerning Paul Klee. They are altogether different, but each fills, or nearly fills, a gap in our understanding of this most poignant and least repetitious of twentieth century masters.

A lifelong friend of Klee, Prof. Will Grohmann hopes to complete the definitive catalogue and biographical study of this astonishingly prolific and many-sided artist. Despite its size, the present book is only a sort of first draft. Though every one of the nearly 475 works discussed is illustrated, this total may be compared to the estimated nine thousand works which comprise Klee's lifetime oeuvre. Very few of the large number of examples in American museums and private collections are included; yet this very omission holds an advantage to the American student in extending his acquaintance with the artist's work. As the selection was made by Klee himself in the last year of his life, it has an additional interest and authenticity. Every known phase and medium is illustrated. The time span runs from 1884, when Klee was five, to his death in 1940; and beginning with 1903 every year is represented. While there is a preponderance of examples from the final four years, many students of Klee would agree that these include his profoundest expressions. If the mysticism of the 1920's is tender and oblique, that of final decade encompasses brutality, passion, and the ultimate mystery of death. *Kettledrummer* (1940,

page 355) beats out its stark rhythm with more than one suggestion of a death-march: an eye enclosed in a shape like a steel helmet, swastika overtones in the few harsh lines, and the blare of two nearly identical reds from the gray-white sheet behind these black bars. It is instructive to compare this color plate with the black and white illustration in Haftmann (opposite page 204). Nothing could demonstrate better Klee's sheer power as a colorist. This painting and one called *Death and Fire*, also of 1940, suggest that at the very end of his life Klee attained a stage of development comparable to that of the late quartets in Beethoven: maximum freedom of design, aggressive scale, bold elisions, great tenderness, a brooding contemplativeness, and breath-taking tension.

Klee has been called a great minor master. This is an appealing estimate, and one that readily applies to the furtiveness and indirection of most of his work. But in these late examples he dared to essay the sublime, and that, it seems to me, is the mark of a major artist.

The quality of Klee's mind is Dr. Werner Haftmann's theme. His book is as modest in approach as it is in length. He writes as a member of a still young generation, but one which has learned better than Klee's own to value and absorb what Klee did. Haftmann is essentially the critic with sound historical scholarship and a philosophical turn of mind. He philosophizes, as so many others do not, from direct personal experience of works of art; and his sense of artistic quality allows him to steer a firm course through the labyrinth of Klee's mental biography. There are a good many worthless books and articles about Klee. As far as a valid critical appraisal is concerned, I have long been of the opinion that Georg Schmidt's word-poems accompanying an album of fine color reproductions of Klee watercolors were the beginning of wisdom (Basel: Holbein Verlag, 1948). Haftmann's book might be called a full-scale extension of these word-poems.

Prof. Grohmann's treatment of Klee is unfortunately as diffuse as it is generous. The major divisions are devoted to Klee's life and his work, but there is considerable overlapping, and the abundance of quotations becomes tedious, notably in the 250-page chapter (including illustrations, however) on his work. There are brief concluding chapters on Klee's teaching and his personality. The vast appendix includes a classified catalogue with additional small cuts of works not illustrated in the text, a chronological catalogue of all works reproduced, an alphabetical catalogue of all works reproduced and mentioned, a chronological list of biographical data, an exhaustive bibliography (compiled by Hannah Muller Applebaum, of the Museum of Modern Art, New York), an index of names, and a general index. The bibliography also includes a listing of all the exhibitions of Klee's work from 1906 to 1954, together with citations of exhibition catalogues and critical reviews. (It is interesting to note that the Museum of Modern Art exhibited 63 works of Klee as early as 1930, in its first year of operation; and that the Société Anonyme brought 26 paintings to New

York as early as 1924. Prior to that date, Klee had exhibited only in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria. The first Paris showings were in 1925 and 1929, the first London ones in 1934 and 1935. In the middle thirties he was shown in New York, Oakland, Hartford, and San Francisco. In addition to galleries in Chicago and Los Angeles, the Germanic Museum of Harvard University held a Klee exhibition prior to his death.)

The preceding paragraph, including its parenthetical digression, may serve to suggest that the chief value of Dr. Grohmann's massive volume is as a work of reference, though one should not overlook either the quantity or the quality of its corpus of illustrations.

While all serious students of Paul Klee will be profoundly grateful for Prof. Grohmann's labors, it is to be hoped that, armed with the results of his scholarship, they may turn their attention to the broader problems which Dr. Haftmann has attacked in such challenging fashion. A brief outline of the sequence of his chapters may help to bring them into focus. After a discussion of Klee's early years and the influences which affected his formation, Haftmann discusses his development as a colorist between 1914 and 1919, from the trip to Tunis to *Full Moon*, in which some of the experiences stored up during this trip of only twelve days welled up from memory after five years and helped to liberate him, so to speak, from his own formative influences. The consideration of this painting (pages 71-73) may be called a model of analytical criticism turned creative.

Next come two chapters on Klee at the Bauhaus and on the content of his *Pedagogical Sketchbook*. The latter has its difficulties of exposition (perhaps increased by the translation into English), but Klee's sense of identification with the processes of nature, discovered after the sort of long contemplation that Dürer, Goethe, and Thomas Mann all knew, has a power to illuminate experience when it is understood; and one comes to believe that what he does not yet understand will yield its secret to repeated and more rigorous effort. The *Sketchbook* is a living testimony that creativeness in the modern artist is the fruit not only of divine intuition but of knowledge, intellectual profundity, and patient devotion to craft.

The concluding chapters describe from differing aspects the growth of a painting as it took form in Klee's mind through an interaction of mind and hand. The last chapter, "Towards the Angels," provides a kind of epilogue, muted and somber, concerning Klee's final years. Here we move from *Revolt of the Viaduct*, painted in 1937 (the year of Picasso's *Guernica*) to *Dark Voyage*, of 1940; from the stridency of a man-made construction which has "renounced its role in the service of humanity and is advancing on us doing a goose-step of its own," to Klee's ultimate acceptance of death. "Death was within him for a long while," Haftmann writes, "and he accepted that too."

S. LANE FAISON, JR.
Williams College

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

SIR:

The German Academy of Arts in Berlin has been working for several years on the compilation of a *catalogue raisonné* of the work of Adolph Menzel. The last catalogs were made in 1905 and, as a result of the upheavals of two wars, are no longer adequate; they were, in fact, incomplete from the beginning. In the interim many works and letters of Menzel have disappeared and others have been destroyed. . . . The Academy of Arts has undertaken to determine the present location of remaining works and to group them systematically. While it is apparent that a thoroughly complete collection is unattainable because of the mass of material, it is hoped through this work to

illuminate the true character of Menzel's achievement. The plan is to prepare a publication of several illustrated volumes of the paintings, watercolors, pastels, drawings, prints, and writings. . . .

We would be grateful if you would insert in your journal a notice with the above information asking owners of works by Menzel to provide information on their present location either to you or to the Deutsche Akademie der Künste, Robert-Koch-Platz 7, Berlin N.4. We would also appreciate any information that might lead to the discovery of further works or letters of Menzel. . . .

KONRAD KAISER
Menzel-Forschung



LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

- ANDERSSON, ARON, *Silberne Abendmahlsgeräte in Schweden aus dem XIV Jahrhundert*, Stockholm, K. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 1956. 1, 252 pp.; 68 figs. II, 120 pls. 100 Swedish crowns.
- Archivo español de arte, Índice de los tomos I-XXV, 1925-1952*, by Elisa Bermejo, Madrid, Instituto Diego Velazquez, 1955. Pp. 368.
- ATKINSON, R. J. C., *Stonehenge*, New York, Macmillan, 1957. Pp. 204; 25 pls.; map. \$3.50.
- BALTRUSAITIS, JURGIS, *Anamorphoses; ou, Perspectives curieuses*, Paris, Perrin, 1955. Pp. 82; figs.
- Bassano, Museo Civico, *Disegni del Museo Civico da Carpaccio a Canova*, preface by Giuseppe Fiocco, Venice, Neri Pozza Editore, 1956. Pp. 110; 115 figs. 1000 lire.
- BATTISCOMBE, C. F. (ed.), *The Relics of Saint Cuthbert*, Oxford University Press (for the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral), 1956. Pp. 561; 68 figs.; 55 pls.; 3 color pls. £10. 10s. od.
- BAZIN, GERMAIN, *Louvre; Masterpieces of Italian Painting*, Greenwich, Conn., New York Graphic Society, 1956. Pp. 21; 7 figs.; 43 color pls. \$18.00.
- BLOCH, PETER, *Das Hornbacher Sakramentar und seine Stellung innerhalb der frühen Reichenauer Buchmalerei*, Basel, Birkhäuser Verlag, 1956. Pp. 131; 19 figs.; 12 pls. 12.50 Swiss francs. (Basler Studien, xv)
- BOVINI, GIUSEPPE, *Ravenna Mosaics*, Greenwich, Conn., New York Graphic Society, 1956. Pp. 55; 15 figs.; 45 color pls. \$20.00.
- BRION, MARCEL, *Art Abstrait*, Paris, Editions Albin Michel, 1956. Pp. 315; 42 figs.; 17 pls. \$9.00. (American distributor: Wittenborn & Co., New York)
- CHENEY, SHELDON, *A New World History of Art*, New York, Viking, 1956. Pp. 676; about 500 figs.; 8 color pls. \$8.50. Revised edition of *A World History of Art*, 1937.
- COOK, WALTER W. S., *La pintura mural romanica en Cataluña*, Madrid, Instituto Diego Velazquez, 1956. Pp. 36; 48 pls. 40 pesetas.
- DORTU, M.-G., MADELEINE GRILLAERT and JEAN ADHÉMAR, *Toulouse-Lautrec en Belgique*, Paris, Quatre Chemins-Editart, 1955. Pp. 46; 25 pls.; 7 color pls. 5,000 fr.
- FORMAN, HENRY CHANDLEE, *Tidewater Maryland Architecture and Gardens*, New York, Architectural Book Publishing Co., 1956. Pp. 208; 160 figs. \$10.00. Sequel to *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland*.
- FRANKL, PAUL, *Peter Hemmel, Glasmaler von Andlau*, Berlin, Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1956. Pp. 244; 290 figs. DM 70.00.
- GRILLMEIER, ALOYS, S. J., *Der Logos am Kreuz; zur christologischen Symbolik der älteren Kreuzigungsdarstellung*, Munich, Max Hueber Verlag, 1956. Pp. 150; 4 pls.; color frontispiece. DM 12.80.
- HACKENBROCH, YVONNE, *Chelsea and other English Porcelain in the Irwin Untermyer Collection*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press (for the Metropolitan Museum of Art), 1957. Pp. 286; 146 pls. (many in color). \$25.00.
- HUBBARD, R. H. (ed.), *European Paintings in Canadian Collections: Earlier Schools*, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. 154; 68 pls.; 6 color pls. \$8.25.
- ISLER-HUNGERBÜHLER, URSULA, *Johann Rudolf Rahn, Begründer der schweizerischen Kunstgeschichte*, Zurich, Schulthess & Co., 1956. Pp. 136; 27 pls. 12.50 Swiss francs. (Mitteilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich, 39)
- KRAUTHEIMER, RICHARD, in collaboration with TRUDE KRAUTHEIMER-HESS, *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, Princeton University Press, 1956. Pp. 457; 176 pls. \$30.00.
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- LEHMANN-BROCKHAUS, OTTO, *Lateinische Schriftquellen zur Kunst in England, Wales und Schottland vom Jahre 901 bis zum Jahre 1307*, III, Munich, Prestel-Verlag, 1956. Pp. 438. DM 74.00.
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- MADRAZO, CARMEN BERNIS, *Indumentaria medieval española*, Madrid, Instituto Diego Velazquez, 1956. Pp. 53; 48 pls. 40 pesetas.
- MADSDEN, STEPHEN TSCHUDI, *Sources of Art Nouveau*, New York, Wittenborn, 1957. Pp. 488; 264 figs. \$18.50.
- MEEKS, CARROLL L. V., *The Railroad Station; an Architectural History*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1956. Pp. 203; 231 figs. \$7.50.
- MONRO, ISABEL S. and KATE M., *Index to Reproductions of European Paintings*, New York, H. W. Wilson Co., 1956. Pp. 668. \$12.50.
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- MYLONAS, GEORGE, *Ancient Mycenae; the Capital City of Agamemnon*, Princeton University Press, 1957. Pp. 201; 87 figs. \$7.50.
- Newark Museum, *20th Century Italian Art—an Exhibition 10-12-56—11-18-56*. Pp. 16; 4 figs. \$0.30.
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- OSGOOD, CORNELIUS, *Blue-and-White Chinese Porcelain; a Study of Form*, New York, Ronald Press, 1956. Pp. 166; 12 figs. & diagrams; 65 pls. \$15.00.
- PARKER, K. T., *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum; II, Italian Schools*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. 575; 240 pls. \$26.90.
- PARS, H. H., trans. by KATHRINE TALBOT, *Pictures in Peril*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. 240; 25 figs. \$7.00.
- PHILLIPS, JOHN GOLDSMITH, *China-Trade Porcelain; an Account of its Historical Background, Manufacture, and Decoration, and a Study of the Helena Woolworth McCann Collection*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press (for the Winfield Foundation and the Metropolitan Museum of Art), 1956. Pp. 234; 109 pls., 15 of which in color. \$15.00.
- POUSETTE-DART, NATHANIEL (ed.), *American Painting Today; a Cross-Section of our Contemporary Art*, New York, Hastings House, 1956. Pp. 127; 155 figs. incl. 4 color pls. \$8.50. 154 selections by 14 museum directors.
- Répertoire d'art et d'archéologie*, publié sous la direction de Marcel Aubert et Pierre Lelièvre, LVI (1952), Paris,

- Société des amis de la Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie, 1956. Pp. 609.
- ROUART, DENIS (ed.), *Correspondance de Berthe Morisot avec sa famille et ses amis Manet, Puvis de Chavannes, Degas, Monet, Renoir et Mallarmé*, Paris, Quatre Chemins-Editart, 1950. Pp. 185; 13 facs. 1,500 fr. Reprinted 1956.
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- SHAHN, BEN, *The Biography of a Painting*, Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Museum, Harvard University, 1956. Pp. 32; 8 pls. \$0.85. (Fogg Picture Book, 6)
- STRIDBECK, CARL GUSTAV, *Bruegelstudien; Untersuchungen zu den ikonologischen Problemen bei Pieter Bruegel d. Ä. sowie dessen Beziehungen zum niederländischen Romanismus*, Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell, 1956. Pp. 379; 69 pls. 45 Swedish crowns. (Stockholm Studies in History of Art, II)
- SZE, MAI-MAI, *The Tao of Paintings; a Study of the Ritual Disposition of Chinese Painting, with a Translation of the Chieh Tzū Yüan Hua Chuan or Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting 1679-1701*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1956. I, pp. 161; 7 pls.; 3 color pls. II, pp. 587; 38 pls. \$25.00. (Bollingen Series, XLIX)
- VALENTINER, W. R., *Rembrandt and His Pupils*, Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art, 1956. Pp. 39; illustrated catalogue. \$1.00. Catalogue of a loan exhibition.
- VERMEULE, CORNELIUS C., *Cameo and Intaglio; Engraved Gems from the Sommerville Collection*, Philadelphia, University Museum, 1956. Pp. 34; 2 pls. \$0.25. A catalogue.
- WATROUS, JAMES, *The Craft of Old-Master Drawings*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1957. Pp. 170; 63 figs. Trade, \$10.00; text, \$6.50
- WEBB, GEOFFREY, *Architecture in Britain: The Middle Ages*, Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1956. Pp. 224; 91 figs.; 192 pls. \$10.00. (Pelican History of Art)
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- WEINBERG, SAUL S. (ed.), *The Aegean and the Near East; Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman on the Occasion of Her Seventy-fifth Birthday*, Locust Valley, N.Y., J. J. Augustin, 1957. Pp. 322; 43 pls. \$10.00.
- WHINNEY, MARGARET and OLIVER MILLAR, *English Art 1625-1714*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. 391; 10 figs.; 96 pls. \$11.50. (Oxford History of English Art, VIII)

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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